



ISOCRATES

CYPRIAN ORATIONS

EVAGORAS, AD NICOCLEM,
NICOCLES AUT CYPRII

EDITED, WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES, BY

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PREFACE

THE idea of an edition of the three 'Cyprian Orations' of Isocrates suggested itself during a prolonged course of reading among the Attic Orators in search of suitable books for class reading. Of late years the study of the Attic Orators by all but the most advanced students has been usually confined to Demosthenes and a few of the more interesting speeches of Lysias. But on reading Isocrates one cannot help being struck by the purity of his language, the richness of his vocabulary, and the simplicity of his constructions, while his style, through his imitator Cicero, has had considerable influence on the formation of modern prose style. He provides reading which is easier than Thucydides and more difficult than Xenophon, thus supplying a serious want. If one studies the bibliography of Isocrates, it is clear that at one time he was a favourite and standard author in the schools of this country,¹ but of recent years he has been less in favour, the *Panegyricus* being the only speech which is at all often read. These three speeches have been chosen for several reasons; they are simple and straightforward in construction; they do not involve any wide knowledge of ancient history; they are entirely free from the legal technical terms usually found in the Attic Orators; lastly, they are closely connected together, dealing with the fortunes of a single family.

¹ See Sandys, *ad Demon. et Paneg.*, note on p. viii.

These speeches are unedited in English, except that a few chapters from the *Evagoras* and *Nicoles* are contained in Jebb's *Selections from the Attic Orators*, and that Mr. H. Clarke published an edition of the *Evagoras* in 1885, which follows in the main the German edition of Schneider.

My object in the writing of the notes has been twofold: firstly, to supply sufficient help to enable boys in the upper forms of a Public School, or a pass student at a University to read the text with comparative ease; and secondly, to make the notes a medium for teaching the meanings and connexions of words. The latter seems to be one of the most important functions which the teaching of Greek can perform, and which can justify its retention as a school subject. There is no other language of which the vocabulary is so rich or in which words have so many shades of meaning. An appreciation of the subtlety of the Greek language has a real educational value in these days, when there is a growing tendency to use language in a loose and slipshod manner. So many students of Greek, even after several years of study, fail to reach a stage at which they have any real grasp of its vocabulary; they read a greater or less number of Greek authors, looking out the words which they do not know every time that they occur and selecting each time the most suitable word which the lexicon offers, without seeking for any reason for their choice, and immediately forgetting the meaning of the word. The only way to improve this state of affairs is to stimulate an interest in the words which occur in a text by connecting them with one another, and by collecting the various meanings of individual

words and tracing their mutual connexion. If these objects can be carried out, some knowledge of the vocabulary of the language may be gained and a consequent facility in reading it, and the learning of Greek may have an educational value in teaching precision in the use of language.

While of course assuming the possession of one of the numerous Greek Grammars now in use, I have given no reference to any, but, where necessary, have commented on and illustrated any grammatical points which arise.

It is obvious that any one who undertakes an edition of any work of the Attic Orators must be under deep obligations (particularly in the writing of introductory matter) to the late Sir Richard Jebb's *Attic Orators* and to the *Attische Beredsamkeit* of the late Prof. F. Blass. The other books which have been useful will be found in the Bibliography (p. 28).

In conclusion I have to express my warmest thanks to my colleague Mr. J. H. Sleeman, who has read through this book both in MS. and in proof and made a number of valuable suggestions, and to the reader and staff of the Press, whose accuracy and acumen are beyond all praise.

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INTRODUCTION

I. LIFE AND TEACHING OF ISOCRATES.

Life of Isocrates.—Isocrates, the fourth of the ten Attic Orators, was born in 436 B. C. and died in 338 B. C. He thus lived through the century which saw the gradual downfall of Athens. Born in the era of Pericles he almost lived to see the accession of Alexander the Great. He witnessed the subjugation of Athens under the dominion of Sparta and the conquest of Greece by Philip of Macedon. His father, Theodorus, appears to have been in comfortable circumstances, his wealth being derived from a manufactory of flutes. He was rich enough to perform the office of *choregus*, that is, to provide the cost of the production of a play. He gave his son a good education,¹ and, as he grew older, Isocrates studied under the most famous ‘Sophists’ of the day, such as Gorgias, the Sicilian rhetorician, and Prodicus of Ceos, whose insistence on grammatical studies probably helped in the formation of his style. He was also acquainted, at any rate, with Socrates. In the *Phaedrus* of Plato² Phaedrus speaks of him as a friend of the philosopher, whereupon Socrates prophesies that the oratory of Isocrates will make his predecessors seem like children, and perhaps he will rise to still higher things in the region of philosophy. The date at which

¹ *Antidosis*, 161.

² Pp. 278 E–279 B.

the *Phaedrus* was written is uncertain, but it seems probable that it was composed about twenty years after the dialogue which it professes to record, which must have taken place about 410 B.C., when Isocrates was a young man of about twenty-four years. It is therefore difficult to decide whether Plato is seriously prophesying of Isocrates' future or implying ironically that he has hardly fulfilled the promise of his youth. As we shall see, the 'philosophy' of Isocrates differed materially from the Socratic significance of the word. It seems, therefore, only safe to conclude from the passage in the *Phaedrus* that Isocrates undoubtedly had at one time some connexion with the Socratic circle.

His studies were intended, no doubt, rather as a general education suitable to a young man in comfortable circumstances than as a special training for a professional career. But the disastrous course of the Peloponnesian War and the commercial ruin of Athens involved many of her citizens in calamity and Isocrates among them. The Athenians had little use for the flutes which he manufactured, and his slaves probably deserted to the Spartans at Decelea. Isocrates was thus thrown upon his own resources. His want of nerve and the weakness of his voice were a bar to the adoption of a public career. He seems, however, to have spoken in the defence of Theramenes in 404 B.C. It may have been after this event that he left Athens and migrated to Chios, where he met with some success as a teacher of rhetoric. Some authorities, however, place his residence at Chios about ten years later.

After the restoration of the Athenian democracy in 403 B.C., Isocrates was living in Athens and following the

profession of a *λογογράφος*, writing speeches for delivery by litigants in the law courts. Six of such speeches have come down to us and belong to the period 403 to 393 B.C. But speech-writing for others was not an occupation in which Isocrates could take any pride, and he never refers to his practice of it. His true career began about 392 B.C., when he opened a school in Athens, which was destined to attract a numerous and distinguished body of students. It is probable that at first his pupils were mainly Athenians, but the publication of the *Panegyricus* in 380 B.C. brought him a wider reputation, and pupils flocked from all parts of the Greek world. They included the historians Ephorus and Theopompus, the orators Hyperides, Isaeus and Lycurgus, Timotheus, the son of Conon, and probably also Nicocles, afterwards king of Salamis in Cyprus.

Henceforward, Isocrates devoted himself to two forms of activity, those of an educator and a publicist. These can be best treated of in connexion with his actual writings (see below).

His death occurred in 338 B.C. at the ripe age of 98. Tradition relates that he died of voluntary starvation four days after the battle of Chaeronea.¹ It seems, however, hardly likely that this can be true, if, as is now generally supposed, the letter² written to Philip of Macedonia immediately after Chaeronea is genuine. In this letter he urges Philip to take up the cause of

¹ Cf. Milton, *Sonnet to the Lady Margaret Ley*,

As that dishonest victory
At Chaeronea, fatal to liberty,
Kill'd with report that old man eloquent.

² *Ep.* ix.

Greece against Persia—advice which was prophetic of the expedition carried out by Alexander, Philip's son, on a far more splendid and ambitious scale than Isocrates himself could have conceived, and with more far-reaching effects on the world's history. It is probable that Isocrates died a natural death. It is possible that his friends desired that his name should go down to posterity as one who took his own life through grief at the disaster of his country rather than as one who wished to come to terms with the conqueror of Hellas, and so invented the story of his voluntary suicide.

We have evidence that over sixty works were attributed to Isocrates in antiquity. Twenty-one speeches and nine letters have come down to us. The speeches fall into three classes :—

(1) FORENSIC SPEECHES, written for delivery by others, of which mention has already been made.

(2) POLITICAL SPEECHES.

(3) SCHOLASTIC AND EDUCATIONAL WORKS.

Political Writings.—His political writings are rather of the nature of pamphlets than speeches, for they were neither spoken nor intended to be spoken. Nevertheless, they exercised considerable influence on the Athenian and Hellenic world of his day. The earliest of the political writings which has come down to us is also the most famous—the *Panegyricus*, in which he urges Athens and Sparta in 380 B. C. to lay aside their fatal animosity and band together against the common enemy, Persia. He seems to have thought that by so doing the Greeks might be welded into a united nation and so work out their own salvation. In the *Plataicus* (about 373 B. C.) he puts into the mouth of a citizen of

Plataea a plea addressed to Athens, begging that Plataea, which had been destroyed by Thebes, might be restored. In the *Archidamus*,¹ which is supposed to be delivered by Archidamus before the Spartan Assembly, he urges the Spartans not to allow the abandonment of Messene, which the Thebans demanded as a condition of peace. His next two political speeches were addressed to the Athenians about 355 B.C. In the *Areopagiticus* he urges the restoration to the court of the Areopagus of its former supervision over the morality of the city. In the *Peace* he advises his fellow-citizens to make peace with their revolted allies, Chios, Rhodes and Ceos. Finally, in the *Philippus* he returns to the theme of the Panegyricus, and in the year 346 B.C. again urges a crusade against Persia, to be undertaken this time under the leadership of Philip of Macedon.

Educational Ideas.—His educational and scholastic writings are closely connected with the work of his school. Two works have come down to us which are really more of the nature of essays on education than speeches, that *Against the Sophists* and that *On the Antidosis*. The former, which was probably written about 391 B.C. or a little earlier, is directed against the practices of the popular educators of the day. In the form in which it has come down to us it is incomplete at the end. The speech *On the Antidosis* professes to have been delivered in a lawsuit against a certain Lysimachus,¹

¹ Dated by Jebb 366 B.C., by Blass 356 B.C.

² Lysimachus is probably a fictitious name for Megacleides, who in 355 B.C., when ordered to perform the duty of trierarch, had challenged Isocrates in accordance with Athenian law, which allowed any one called upon to undertake a public service (λειτουργία) to challenge any citizen who he thought could better afford to bear it, either to take his place

but in this work, written towards the end of his life (354 B.C.), Isocrates takes the opportunity of vindicating his career and enunciating his views on education. The speech *Against the Sophists*, as we have it, is mainly destructive criticism of contemporary educators; in the speech *On the Antidosis* he defines his own 'theory of culture' (φιλοσοφία). While he calls himself a 'sophist' in the best sense of the word, he separates himself from the 'common herd of Sophists'.¹ These, he says, either pretend to impart universal knowledge for a small fee, or else are mere teachers of practical rhetoric who instruct their pupils in speaking with effect, thus making successful oratory the one and only end of education.² That with which he finds most fault in the Sophists is the narrow view which they take of education. In his view, 'Philosophy', the true culture, is to the mind what —gymnastic is to the body.³ Athletic instructors, by teaching the rudiments of gymnastic, do not make great athletes; so the educator cannot turn out well-educated men mechanically. Isocrates therefore insisted that natural ability counts for much, and he also demanded diligence and application from his pupils; they must not merely listen to the enunciation of principles, but also carry them out in practice. Also he urged the adoption of broader views and Panhellenic rather than local ideals, and proposed for the consideration of his pupils themes of wider interest than the barren disputations on mythical subjects and the petty details of legal pleading which the orator consented to an exchange of property (*ἀντίδοσις*). Isocrates, we are told, was unsuccessful in his suit and had to undertake the office of trierarch and fit out a trireme for the service of the state at his own expense.

¹ ἀγελαῖοι σοφισταί (*Panath.* 18).

² *Against the Sophists*, 1-13.

³ *Antidos.* 183.

Sophists favoured. The end of his philosophy is a practical one—right action. The wise man is he who has been so educated that he will know how to act under any given combination of circumstances.¹ There is no absolute science of Virtue or Justice, but ‘philosophy’, the right system of education, will lead a man to deal rightly with circumstances as they arise. It was, he urged, the unpractical character of the sophistic education which had led the youth of Athens to spend their time either on fruitless disquisitions, which had no bearing upon life, or else in unprofitable and harmful amusements²; education must give a practical direction to men’s activities. This insistence on the practical side of education was perhaps the most important contribution which Isocrates made to the science of education.

His success as an educator can be measured by the number and exalted position of his pupils and their success in after-life. Cicero³ compares his school to the Trojan horse, from which none but heroes came forth.

The scholastic and educational works of Isocrates fall into two classes :

- (1) EPIDEICTIC DISCOURSES or DECLAMATIONS.
- (2) HORTATORY SPEECHES.

Scholastic Writings.—Of the declamations, four have come down to us. Two of them are concerned with mythological subjects, the *Helen* and the *Busiris*. Isocrates, as we have seen, condemned the elaborate discourses on mythological topics, which were so dear to the heart of the Sophist. In these two discourses he takes two such subjects and shows that even they can be

¹ *Antidos.* 271; cp. *ad Nic.* 51.

² *Antidos.* 286, 287.

³ *de Oratore*, ii. 94.

turned to good account, if they are used to convey some political or ethical teaching which has a general interest and practical bearing. Thus in the *Helen* he discourses at considerable length on the reforms of Theseus, while in the *Busiris* he discusses the institutions of Egypt. The third of the Epideictic discourses is the *Evagoras*, one of the Cyprian Orations contained in this selection, the discussion of which can be postponed for the moment. The last is the *Panathenaicus*, a work of his extreme old age, which consists in the main of a panegyric of Athens prefaced by a defence of the writer's philosophy and teaching.

The Hortatory Speeches attributed to Isocrates are three in number. The first is that addressed to *Demonicus*, the genuineness of which has been a matter of considerable controversy, with which we cannot deal here. The other two, the *ad Nicoclem* and *Nicocles, or the Cyprians*, are included in this selection and will be dealt with in their proper place.

II. THE CYPRIAN ORATIONS.

The Evagoras.—The *Encomium on Evagoras* was composed for a festival held to commemorate that king by his son and successor Nicocles. Evagoras was king of the Cyprian kingdom of Salamis.¹ He claimed

¹ The town of Salamis was situated in the east of Cyprus, a few miles north of the modern Famagusta. The story of an early Greek colony, traditionally ascribed to Teucer, seems to have some basis in fact. Considerable traces of a 'Mycenaean' settlement have been discovered at Enkomi, rather more than a mile to the south-west of the later town, which must have been situated on the sea-coast at a point where Greek, Hellenistic and Roman remains have been discovered (*Brit. Mus. Excav. in Cyprus*, pp. 1 ff.)

descent from the hero Teucer, who, according to tradition, had left his native land of Aegina and founded a kingdom in Cyprus, to which he gave the name of Salamis, calling it after the island in the Saronic Gulf which formed part of the kingdom of his family.

The Greek kings of Salamis.—Though Evagoras claimed descent from the old Greek kings of Salamis, the dynasty of the Teucridae had not reigned continuously, but their kingdom had for some time been under the dominion of the Phoenicians, who had always possessed settlements in the island. In fact, the early history of Cyprus was a continual struggle between the Greek and Phoenician elements. The near contact with the East and the distance which separated Cyprus from the main centres of Greek civilization favoured the growth of Phoenician influence. The scarcity of evidence makes it difficult to arrive with any certainty at the exact facts about the Phoenician occupation of Salamis. It is evident that Isocrates imagined that the Greek Dynasty was dispossessed at a comparatively early date.¹

Salamis in the sixth and fifth Centuries.—Our evidence about the kings of Salamis in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. is partly literary and partly numismatic.² Herodotus gives the names of several kings. Shortly after 530 B.C., when Pheretime, mother of Arcesilaus III of Cyrene, fled to Cyprus, Euelthon was king.³ At the time of the Ionian Revolt the king of Salamis was Gorgos, who, according to Herodotus,⁴

¹ *Evag.* 19 κατὰ μὲν ἀρχὰς κτέ.

² See *Brit. Mus. Cat. of Coins of Cyprus*, pp. lxxxii ff.

³ *Herodot.* iv. 162.

⁴ *Id.* v. 104.

was son of Chersis, son of Siromus¹, son of Euelthon; for a brief period during his reign his brother Onesilus seized the throne, but was afterwards expelled from it. A large class of coins, the earliest which can be attributed to Salamis, bears the name of Euelthon; some of them may have been struck during the reigns of his successors who may have placed the name of their forefather on their coins.² The Greek inscriptions on the coins of this class seem to make it certain that a Greek dynasty was ruling in Salamis from about 560 to 460 B.C. The next name which can be read with certainty on Salaminian coins is that of Nicodamus, also clearly a Greek king, who, however, is not known from literary evidence. His date is conjectured to be about 460 to 450 B.C.³ It thus seems clear that kings of the Greek dynasty of the Teucridae were ruling as late as about the middle of the fifth century. The next group of coins⁴ bears the inscription of Euanthes, also clearly a Greek name. We have seen that Isocrates implies that the Greek dynasty was expelled some time before the birth of Evagoras, and we shall see that there is reason to suppose that Evagoras seized the throne about 411 B.C. It has, therefore, been conjectured that the coinage of Euanthes was issued during the exile of the Greek princes. Even so the forty years which intervene between about 450 B.C. (the end of the reign of Nicodamus) and 411 B.C. (the beginning of the reign of Evagoras) seem hardly long enough to allow for the Phoenician usurper to have

¹ Mr. G. F. Hill (*B. M. Cat. of Coins of Cyprus*, p. lxxxviii) thinks that the name of Siromus may have been interpolated, and that he was a Tyrian, perhaps Hiram, king of Tyre in the third quarter of the sixth century.

² Six, *Rev. Num.*, 1883, p. 265.

³ *B. M. Cat.*, p. 52.

⁴ *Ib.* p. 53, where they are dated circa 450 B.C.

founded a dynasty which lasted long enough for Evagoras to have been born during the reign of one of his descendants.¹ It seems, therefore, probable that the chronology of Isocrates is at fault, and that, possibly to enhance the achievement of Evagoras in recovering the kingdom, he has exaggerated the period during which the Phoenician dynasty ruled at Salamis.

The dynasty of the Phoenician usurper, as Isocrates tells us, 'barbarized' Salamis by pursuing a vehemently anti-Hellenic policy. Finally, Abdymon of Citium² rose against the Phoenician ruler and expelled him, and at the same time drove out Evagoras, the descendant of the old Greek kings, from the island, because he feared his growing influence and obvious ability which made him a formidable rival. Evagoras fled to Cilicia, but soon afterwards returning and overcoming the usurper seized the throne, and thus re-established the dynasty of the Teucridae. The date of his accession cannot be later than 411 B. C., since in that year Andocides visited Cyprus³ and found him upon the throne; further, he must have had time to consolidate his position before the year 405 B. C., when he harboured the Athenian admiral Conon after the battle of Aegospotami.

Rule of Evagoras.—The main facts of the life of Evagoras are contained in the *Evagoras* of Isocrates. He quickly established his power and made Salamis an outpost of Hellenism in the far eastern Mediterranean. He encouraged the settlement of Greeks in his kingdom,

¹ *Evag.* 21 τῶν ἐκγόνων τῶν ἐκείνου τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐχόντων Εὐαγόρας γίγνεται.

² Theopompus, *fr.* 101 (in *Hellen. Oxyrh.*, ed. Grenfell and Hunt).

³ [Lysias] in *Andocidem*, 28.

and was an ardent admirer of Greek culture and literature. The influence of this Hellenic revival is reflected in the improved style of his coinage.¹ He was a trusted ally of Athens, and a close friend of Conon, whom he assisted materially at the battle of Cnidus. He was made a citizen of Athens, and his statue was set up with that of Conon in the Ceramicus at Athens. About 390 B. C. he seems to have turned his attention to enlarging his dominions in Cyprus; the result was that Soli, Amathus, and Citium appealed to Persia for assistance. A war with the Great King ensued in which Evagoras was at first successful. It is possible that he even added Amathus to his kingdom, for there is some ground for supposing that he issued coins of that town.² His power at sea was such that he extended his influence over the coasts of Phoenicia. Finally, however, the power of Persia was too strong for him, and he was defeated and shut up in Salamis, though he continued to resist until about 380 B. C., when he recognized Artaxerxes as his overlord. He died in 374 or 373 B. C.³ Isocrates never states the manner of his death, and gives the impression that he died in his bed. If, however, we are to believe Theopompus,⁴ he was murdered under discreditable circumstances by a eunuch named Thrasydaeus.

It is impossible exactly to fix the date of the *Evagoras*⁵; but it was probably delivered some few years after the death of the subject of the Encomium.

¹ *B. M. Cat.*, p. c.

² *Ib.* p. xxvii.

³ Diodorus xv. 74.

⁴ *loc. cit.*

⁵ Blass dates it about 370 B. C.; Jebb thinks that it is probably as late as 365 B. C., possibly later.

The *ad Nicoclem* and the *Nicocles*.—It seems not unlikely that Nicocles, the son and successor of Evagoras, was a pupil of Isocrates, and attended his school at Athens.¹ The connexion between Isocrates and the royal house of Salamis was established through the close friendship of Isocrates with the family of Conon and his son Timotheus. The speech *ad Nicoclem* is an exhortation addressed to the young monarch soon after his accession, so that its date must be soon after 374 B. C., and therefore earlier than that of the *Evagoras*. It sets forth the duties of a monarch towards his subjects. The speech entitled *Nicocles, or the Cyprians* is a companion speech put into the mouth of Nicocles, who addresses the citizens of Salamis on the duties of subjects towards their rulers. The implication² that his subjects have already had experience of his rule seems to show that the date of this speech is some years later than that of the *ad Nicoclem*. It is uncertain when the reign of Nicocles came to an end: Judeich³ thinks that it probably coincided with the suppression of the revolt of the Satraps, about 361 B. C. He certainly died some time before the speech *On the Antidosis* (353 B. C.) was written.⁴ Jebb dates the speech between 372 and 365 B. C.

III. THE STYLE OF ISOCRATES.

His language.—The writings of Isocrates occupy an important place in the history of prose style, and exercised a profound influence on succeeding writers and orators. His language is the purest Attic, and he

¹ Cp. *Antidos*, 30.

³ *Klennas. Stud.*, p. 133.

² *N. C.* 63.

⁴ See *Antidos*, 67.

realizes what words may and may not be used by a prose writer. In an interesting passage in the *Evagoras*¹ he states clearly the distinction between the language permitted to a prose writer and the wider range of vocabulary which is allowed to a poet. He almost literally carries out the principles there laid down as to the avoidance of uncommon words and expressions and violent metaphors.

His prose style.—In his view the prose writer must rely for his effect on the skilful arrangement of words and clauses. The chief contribution which Isocrates made to the evolution of prose style was a development of the rhetorical teaching of the Sicilian School, in particular that of Gorgias of Leontini. Cicero² says that Isocrates was the first to realize that in prose as in verse a certain measure and rhythm must be observed. Every word must be in its right place and every clause must have its proper position and stand in due relation to the other clauses in the sentence. Isocrates could manage the *period* as few Greek writers succeeded in doing. In reading a long sentence of Isocrates we are struck by the fact that, however intricate it may seem, it runs smoothly, and its structure is perfectly clear. This smoothness is largely caused by his systematic avoidance of *hiatus*, which leads him never to allow a word ending with a vowel to be followed by a word beginning with a vowel.³ His arrangement of sentences and clauses and words in clauses is the result of conscious artifice. This can be most easily illustrated in the 'Cyprian Orations'

¹ §§ 9–11.

² *Brutus*, 34.

³ For the few circumstances under which Isocrates permits *hiatus* see Index II under that heading.

from the speech *ad Nicoclem*, where many of the sentences take the form of short and pithy maxims. He will often balance two clauses almost exactly one against another by the device called by rhetorical writers *παρίσσωσις*.¹ Similarly in a single sentence he will balance individual words against one another.² Another characteristic device, which is said to have been a favourite figure in the school of Gorgias, is that called *παρομοίωσις*, 'parallelism in sound.' Of this 'figure' there are several varieties, the most striking of which is an almost complete correspondence between two words.³ Another favourite figure is that called *ὁμωνυμία* or 'play upon words'.⁴ The conscious artifices which Isocrates employs, though at times they may seem laboured, certainly often add to the clearness of his style. One criticism which may be levelled against him is that he is too apt to use the same expressions and phrases over and over again; he even repeats in later speeches whole passages which have already occurred in earlier speeches.

Isocrates, though classed among the Attic Orators, was not so much an orator as a literary artist. In the words of Sir Richard Jebb, 'He was the first Greek who gave a really artistic finish to literary rhetorical prose.' While his political doctrines, such as those, for example, which he seeks to inculcate in the *Panegyricus*, were

¹ e.g. *ad N.* 25 φαύλους ἡγοῦ μὴ τοὺς συμφερόντως ἡττωμένους ἀλλὰ τοὺς μετὰ βλάβης περιγυνομένους. μεγαλόφρονas νόμιξε μὴ τοὺς μείζω περιβαλλομένους κτέ.

² e.g. *ad N.* 50 τὸν οὐχ ἓνα τῶν πολλῶν ἀλλὰ πολλῶν βασιλεύοντα, a good example also of *chiasmus*.

³ e.g. *ad N.* 26 κτησαμένους . . . χρῆσαμένους, where see note.

⁴ For examples in these speeches see Index II under 'play upon words'.

soon forgotten, the influence which he exercised on Greek and afterwards on Latin prose style was all powerful. In particular Cicero, the first Latin stylist in prose, owed much to him, and acknowledged the debt; and it is upon Cicero's writings that modern prose style has, to a great extent, been modelled.

IV. THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE CYPRIAN ORATIONS.¹

Drerup enumerates 121 MSS. of Isocrates. Of these four are of importance for the text of the 'Cyprian Orations':—

1. CODEX URBINAS (Γ) in the Vatican Library (No. 111), of the end of the ninth or beginning of the tenth century. It contains all three Cyprian Orations, and is by far the most important MS. of Isocrates. 'Codicem Isocratis Urbinatem Γ omnium, qui ex antiquitate servati sunt, librorum manu scriptorum prope optimum esse inter uiros doctos nunc certe constat' (Drerup, p. lxxv). The text of Isocrates rests firmly on the sure foundation of this famous MS. There are corrections by five hands (Γ₁, Γ₂, &c.) in the text in minuscules and corrections in uncials by one hand in the margin.

2. CODEX VATICANUS (Δ) in the Vatican Library (No. 65) dated in the subscription 1063. It contains all three Cyprian Orations.

3. CODEX LAURENTIANUS (Θ) in the Laurentian Library at Florence (No. lxxxvii, 14), of the thirteenth century. It contains the *Evagoras* only of the Cyprian Orations.

4. CODEX PARISINUS (II) in the Public Library at Paris (No. 2932), of the fifteenth century. It contains the *ad Nicoclem* and the *Nicocles*.

Portions of the *ad Nicoclem* are also found in two papyri, neither of which, however, is of any importance.

(a) PAPYRUS MASSILIENSIS in the Borely Museum at Marseilles, containing the *ad Nicoclem* down to § 30 μετὰ δέους γιγνομένης. It

¹ On the whole subject of the MSS. of Isocrates see E. Drerup, pp. iv ff., where a full account is given from which these particulars are taken.

is probably of the fourth or fifth century A. D. Drerup (p. c.) characterizes it as 'recentissimum et librarii incuria corruptissimum'.

(δ) PAPYRUS RAINERI (No. 502), of the fourth century A. D. It contains an insignificant fragment of *ad Nic.* § 2.

V. THE TEXT OF THIS EDITION.

In the present edition no attempt has been made to give a full critical apparatus, for which reference must be made to the editions of Blass and Drerup. As the edition of Blass (Teubner, 1904) is that in most common use, it has been thought well to give a list of those passages where a reading has been adopted which differs from that text. These differences will be found in most cases to be due to a more complete reliance on the readings of the Codex Urbinas (Γ) as against the combined authority of the other MSS. The text here given generally agrees with that of the monumental edition of Drerup, but the more important of the readings which differ from those of Blass had in the majority of cases been decided upon some time ago, before Drerup's edition came into my hands. In a few cases, where the reading of Blass has been retained, other readings have also been noted. It has not been thought necessary to indicate differences of punctuation.

Evagoras.

Principal Authorities: MSS.—Γ Θ Λ.

5 συνειδόσι Γ: εἰδόσι Γ₅ Θ Λ, Blass.

15 ἐπειδὴ δέ MSS. (see note): ἐπειδὴ τε Blass.

17 τούτων Γ: τούτοις Γ₅ Θ Λ, Blass.

21 οὕτω δὲ καὶ Γ: οὕτω δέ Θ Λ, Blass.

22 τῆς δὲ ῥώμης ἅπαντας τοὺς ἀγῶνας Γ: τῆς δὲ ῥώμης τοὺς (θεασαμένους τοὺς) ἀγῶνας Blass.

- 23 *ἐτέροις* Γ : *ἐτέροις* τισίν Γ₅ Θ Δ, Blass.
- 32 *πρὸς ἅπαντας τοὺς ἐχθροὺς* MSS. : *πρὸς ἅπαντας* [τοὺς ἐχθροὺς] Blass.
- 33 *καταλείπομι* Γ : *καταλίπομι* Θ Δ, Blass.
- 36 *περιγεγεννημένοι* Γ : *περιγενόμενοι* Θ Δ, Blass.
- 41 *ὑπερβαλλόμενος* Γ : *ὑπερβαλόμενος* Δ, Blass.
καλῶς Γ : *ὁμοίως καλῶς* Δ : *ὁμοίως* Blass.
- 42 *εὐπραγίαις* Γ : *εὐπραγίαις καὶ καρτερίαις* Θ, Blass.
- 46 *τυραννικός* Θ Δ, Stobaeus, Blass (see note) : *μεγαλόφρων* Γ, Drerup.
- 49 *τὴν νῆσον* MSS., bracketed by Orelli, Schneider, Drerup : see note.
- 50 *μουσικὴν καὶ περὶ τὴν ἄλλην* Γ : *μουσικὴν καὶ τῶν περὶ τὴν ἄλλην* Γ₅ Θ Δ, Blass.
- 52 *δυστυχησάσης τῆς πόλεως* Γ₂ Θ Δ, Drerup : *δυστυχίσας τῆς πόλεως* Γ : *δυστυχίσας* Blass.
- 56 *τῆς παλαιᾶς* Γ : *τῆς τε παλαιᾶς* Γ₅ Θ Δ, Blass.
τοῦτο παρασχόντος Γ : *τοῦτό τε παρασχόντος* Blass : *αὐτόν τε παρασχόντος* Γ₅ Θ Δ, Schneider (see note).
- 57 *κατηργάσαντο* Γ Δ, Drerup (see note) : *κατειργάσαντο* Γ₂ Θ, Blass.
- 67 *ἄμεικτον* Γ, Drerup (see note) : *ἄμικτον* Γ₅ Θ Δ, Blass.
- 69 *γνώμην* Γ Θ Δ : *διάνοιαν* margin of Γ in uncials, Blass.
- 70 and 72 *γεγεννημένων* Γ : *προγεγεννημένων* Γ₅ Θ Δ, Blass.
- 72 *οὐδέν* Γ, Blass (see note) : *οὐδένα* Γ margin, Γ₅ Θ Δ, Drerup.
- 73 *ἐξηργασάμην* Drerup (cp. § 57) : *κατειργασάμην* MSS., Blass.
- 74 *ἐξενεχθῆναι* θ' Blass (see note) : *ἐξενεχθῆναι* MSS.
- 75 *καὶ γεγραμμένοις* Γ : *καὶ τοῖς γεγραμμένοις* Θ Δ, Blass.
- 80 *λέγειν* Γ : *καὶ λέγειν* Θ Δ, Blass.
- 81 *ἐκ Διός* Γ : *ἀπὸ Διός* Θ Δ, Blass.

ad Nicoclem.

Principal Authorities: MSS.—Γ Λ Π (and Θ for quotations from the speech *On the Antidosis*); Papyrus Massiliensis.

2 *τίνων ἀπεχόμενος* Γ : *τίνων ἔργων ἀπεχόμενος* Λ Π, pap. : *τίνων [ἔργων] ἀπεχόμενος* Blass.

διοικίης Blass : *διοικῆς* Γ, pap.

- 10 *οἷας ἄν* Γ: *οἷας περ ἄν* Δ Π, pap., Blass.
 11 *βασιλεῦσι* Γ Δ Π: *βασιλεύουσι* Γ margin in uncials, Blass.
 13 *ἀγωνιστὴν* Γ Blass: *ἀνταγωνιστὴν* Δ Π, pap., Drerup.
 19 bracketed by Benseler, Versmeeten, and Drerup, omitted by Θ (in *Antidos.*), see Appendix I.
 20 *τίμα*—21 *βασιλευόντων ἐστὶ* bracketed as above.
 20 *ἀρχαῖς τῶν φιλῶν* Γ: *ἀρχαῖς [τῶν φίλων]* Blass: *ἀρχαῖς τῶν τιμῶν* Δ, pap.
ἀληθείαις αὐταῖς Γ, Blass: *ἀληθεστάταις* Δ Π, pap.
 22 *λόγους ἦ* Γ Δ Π, pap.: *λόγους μᾶλλον ἦ* Γ₅, Blass.
ἅπασιν—23 *ἁμαρτανομένων* bracketed as above.
 24 *οὕτως ὁμίλει*—25 *ἐπιχειρῶσιν* bracketed as above.
 25 *μέλλει* Δ Π: *μέλλοι* Γ, Blass (see note).
 26 *καὶ νόμιζε*—*ἀτυχῆς* bracketed as above.
 27 *ἀκριβεῖς*—*πράξωσιν* bracketed as above.
 28 *ἄκουε*—*λέγωσιν* bracketed as above.
 29 *μηδεμίαν*—*ἀλλ'* bracketed as above (but not by Benseler).
 30 *νόμιζε*—*σπουδάζων* bracketed as above.
 31 *βασιλεῖς* Γ: *βασιλέας* Δ Π Θ, Blass.
 32 *τρύφα*—35 *βουλεύσει* bracketed as above.
 35 and 36 *βασιλεῖς* Γ: *βασιλέας* Δ Π, Blass.
 36 *καλῶς τεθνάναι* Γ: *τεθνάναι καλῶς* Θ, Blass.
 37 *τὴν μνήμην* Γ: *μνήμην* Δ Π Θ, Blass.
 39 *περὶ μικρῶν ἀκριβῶς* Γ (in *Antidos.*) Θ, Drerup: *ἀκριβῶς περὶ μικρῶν* Γ Δ Π, Blass (see note).
μήδε τοὺς—*ἐπισταμένους* bracketed as above.
χρῶ τοῖς εἰρημένοις—*τούτων* placed here in the MSS.: Blass places them after *ἀξίου* (end of § 38) on the ground that they stand there in Θ (quotation in *Antidos.*).
 41 *τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων* Γ: bracketed by Blass (see note).
 45 *θερμάτων* Γ, Blass (see note): *μαθημάτων* Δ Π.
 47 *ληροῦντας* Γ: *λοιδοροῦντας* Δ Π, Blass.
 50 *βασιλεύοντα* Γ: *ὄντα τύραννον* Δ, Blass.

Nicocles aut Cyprii.

Principal Authorities: MSS.—Γ Λ Π (§ 5 ὁ πάντων—§ 9 νοῦν ἔχοντας quoted in *Antidos.* 253-7: MSS. Γ Θ).

- 2 δι' ὧν Blass: μεθ' ὧν Γ, Drerup: ὧν Λ Π.
 5 τῶν ἄλλων ζώων MSS.: τῶν ζώων Γ Θ in *Antidos.*, Blass.
 7 καὶ τῶν καλῶν καὶ τῶν αἰσχροῶν MSS., Blass: καὶ τῶν αἰσχροῶν καὶ τῶν καλῶν Γ Θ (in *Antidos.*), Drerup.
 18 φιλοτιμίας MSS.: φιλονεικίας Stobaeus: φιλονικίας Blass.
 22 φθῆναι ex cit. Coray, Blass: ὀφθῆναι MSS. (see note).
 24 πόλιν Γ Blass: πόλιν τῶν Ἀθηναίων Λ Π.
 33 πανταχῇ. Γ Λ: πανταχοῦ Π, Blass.
 38 βασιλεῖς Drerup: βασιλέας MSS. (cp. *ad Nic.* 31, 35, 36).
 43 τὴν δὲ δικαιοσύνην καὶ σωφροσύνην Γ: καὶ τὴν σωφροσύνην καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην Λ Π: τὴν δὲ δικαιοσύνην καὶ τὴν σωφροσύνην Blass.
 45 πλείστα Γ: μάλιστα Λ Π, Blass.
 46 καὶ τοὺς μετὰ Γ: τοὺς καὶ μετὰ Λ Π, Blass.
 55 πραότερους Γ: πράους Λ Π, Blass.
 56. ἔθεσι Γ: ἤθεσι Λ Π, Blass.
 ἐν ταῖς ὑπὲρ Γ: ἐν τε ταῖς ὑπὲρ Λ Π, Blass.
 57 πειθαρχεῖν Γ: βασιλεύεσθαι Λ Π, Blass.
 58 δικαιοτάτον Γ: βεβαιοτάτον Λ Π, Blass.
 πιστεύοντας Γ: πιστεύσαντας Λ Π, Blass.
 59 τὰ πλείστα Γ: πλείστα Λ Π, Blass.
 60 οὐσπερ ἂν καὶ MSS.: οὐσπερ ἂν [καί] Blass.
 οἷα περὶ Γ: οἷά περ Γ₂ Λ Π: οἷά περ περὶ Blass.
 61 ἡ ἐν Drerup: μέν Γ: ἡ Blass (see note).

VI. BIBLIOGRAPHY.

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¹ Quotations from this translation in the notes are indicated by (F.).

I

ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ

- Ὅρων, ὦ Νικόκλεις, τιμῶντά σε τὸν τάφον τοῦ πατρὸς 189
 οὐ μόνον τῷ πλήθει καὶ τῷ κάλλει τῶν ἐπιφερομένων ἀλλὰ
 καὶ χοροῖς καὶ μουσικῇ καὶ γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσιν, ἔτι δὲ πρὸς
 τούτοις ἵππων τε καὶ τριήρων ἀμίλλαις, καὶ λείποντ' οὐδε-
 2 μίαν τῶν τοιούτων ὑπερβολήν, ἡγησάμην Εὐαγόραν, εἴ τις
 ἐστὶν αἰσθησις τοῖς τετελευτηκόσι περὶ τῶν ἐνθάδε γιγνο-
 μένων, εὖμενῶς μὲν ἀποδέχεσθαι καὶ ταῦτα, καὶ χαίρειν b
 ὀρώντα τὴν τε περὶ αὐτὸν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ τὴν σὴν μεγαλο-
 πρέπειαν, πολὺ δ' ἂν ἔτι πλείω χάρις ἔχῃ ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοις
 ἀπασιν, εἴ τις δυνηθείη περὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων αὐτοῦ καὶ
 3 τῶν κινδύνων ἀξίως διελθεῖν τῶν ἐκείνῳ πεπραγμένων· εὐρή-
 σομεν γὰρ τοὺς φιλοτίμους καὶ μεγαλοψύχους τῶν ἀνδρῶν οὐ
 μόνον ἀντὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἐπαινεῖσθαι βουλομένους, ἀλλ' ἀντὶ c
 τοῦ ζῆν ἀποθνήσκειν εὐκόλως αἰρουμένους, καὶ μᾶλλον περὶ
 τῆς δόξης ἢ τοῦ βίου σπουδάζοντας, καὶ πάντα ποιοῦντας,
 4 ὅπως ἀθάνατον τὴν περὶ αὐτῶν μνήμην καταλείψουσιν. αἱ
 μὲν οὖν δαπάναι τῶν μὲν τοιούτων οὐδὲν ἐξεργάζονται, τοῦ
 δὲ πλούτου σημείον εἰσιν· οἱ δὲ περὶ τὴν μουσικὴν καὶ τὰς
 ἄλλας ἀγωνίας ὄντες, οἱ μὲν τὰς δυνάμεις τὰς αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ
 τὰς τέχνας ἐπιδειξάμενοι, σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐντιμωτέρους κατέ- d
 στησαν· ὁ δὲ λόγος, εἰ καλῶς διέλθοι τὰς ἐκείνου πράξεις,
 αἰμνηστον ἂν τὴν ἀρετὴν τὴν Εὐαγόρου παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώ-
 ποις ποιήσειεν.
 5 Ἐχρὴν μὲν οὖν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπαινεῖν τοὺς ἐφ' αὐτῶν
 ἀνδρας ἀγαθοὺς γεγεννημένους, ἵν' οἱ τε δυνάμειοι τὰ τῶν
 ἄλλων ἔργα κοσμεῖν ἐν συνειδόσι ποιούμενοι τοὺς λόγους 190

- ταῖς ἀληθείαις ἐχρῶντο περὶ αὐτῶν, οἳ τε νεώτεροι φιλοτι-
 μοτέρως διέκειντο πρὸς τὴν ἀρετὴν, εἰδότες ὅτι τούτων εὐ-
 λογήσονται μᾶλλον ὢν ἂν ἀμείνους σφᾶς αὐτοὺς παράσχωσιν.
 νῦν δὲ τίς οὐκ ἂν ἀθυμήσειεν, ὅταν ὁρᾷ τοὺς μὲν περὶ τὰ 6
 Τρωϊκὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐπέκεινα γενομένους ὑμνουμένους καὶ τραγ-
 φδομένους, αὐτὸν δὲ προειδῇ, μὴδ' ἂν ὑπερβάλλῃ τὰς
b ἐκείων ἀρετάς, μὴδέποτε τοιούτων ἐπαίνων ἀξιωθησόμενον;
 τούτων δ' αἷτιος ὁ φθόνος, ᾧ τοῦτο μόνον ἀγαθὸν πρόσεστιν,
 ὅτι μέγιστον κακὸν τοῖς ἔχουσιν ἔστιν. οὕτω γάρ τινες
 δυσκόλως πεφύκασιν, ὥσθ' ἥδιον ἂν εὐλογουμένων ἀκούοιεν,
 οἷς οὐκ ἴσασι εἰ γεγόνασιν, ἢ τούτους, ὑφ' ὧν εὖ πεπον-
 θότες αὐτοὶ τυγχάνουσιν. οὐ μὴν δουλευτέον τοὺς νῦν 7
 ἔχοντας τοῖς οὕτω κακῶς φρονούσιν, ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν τοιούτων
c ἀμελητέον, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἐθιστέον ἀκούειν, περὶ ὧν καὶ
 λέγειν δίκαιόν ἐστιν, ἄλλως τ' ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὰς ἐπιδόσεις
 ἴσμεν γιγνομένας καὶ τῶν τεχνῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων
 οὐ διὰ τοὺς ἐμμένοντας τοῖς καθεστῶσιν ἀλλὰ διὰ τοὺς
 ἐπανορθοῦντας καὶ τολμῶντας ἀεὶ τι κινεῖν τῶν μὴ καλῶς
 ἐχόντων.
- Οἶδα μὲν οὖν ὅτι χαλεπὸν ἔστιν ὃ μέλλω ποιεῖν, ἀνδρὸς 8
 ἀρετὴν διὰ λόγων ἐγκωμιάζειν. σημεῖον δὲ μέγιστον· περὶ
 μὲν γὰρ ἄλλων πολλῶν καὶ παντοδαπῶν λέγειν τολμῶσιν
d οἱ περὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ὄντες, περὶ δὲ τῶν τοιούτων οὐδεὶς
 πώποτ' αὐτῶν συγγράφειν ἐπεχείρησεν. καὶ πολλὴν αὐτοῖς
 ἔχω συγγνώμην. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ποιηταῖς πολλοὶ δέδονται 9
 κόσμοι· καὶ γὰρ πλησιάζοντας τοὺς θεοὺς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις
 οἶόν τ' αὐτοῖς ποιῆσαι καὶ διαλεγόμενους καὶ συναγωνιζο-
 μένους οἷς ἂν βουληθῶσι, καὶ περὶ τούτων δηλῶσαι μὴ μόνον
 τοῖς τεταγμένοις ὀνόμασι, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ξένοις, τὰ δὲ καινοῖς,
 τὰ δὲ μεταφοραῖς, καὶ μὴδὲν παραλιπεῖν ἀλλὰ πᾶσι τοῖς
e εἶδεσι διαποικίλαι τὴν πόλιν· τοῖς δὲ περὶ τοὺς λόγους 10
 οὐδὲν ἕξεστι τῶν τοιούτων, ἀλλ' ἀποτόμως καὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων
 τοῖς πολιτικοῖς μόνον καὶ τῶν ἐνθυμημάτων τοῖς περὶ αὐτὰς

- τὰς πράξεις ἀναγκαῖον ἐστὶ χρῆσθαι. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις οἱ **191**
 μὲν μετὰ μέτρων καὶ ῥυθμῶν ἅπαντα ποιοῦσιν, οἱ δ' οὐδενὸς
 τούτων κοινωνοῦσιν· ἃ τοσαύτην ἔχει χάριν ὥστ' ἂν καὶ
 τῇ λέξει καὶ τοῖς ἐνθυμήμασι ἔχη κακῶς, ὅμως αὐταῖς ταῖς
 εὐρυθμίαις καὶ ταῖς συμμετρίαις ψυχαγωγῶσι τοὺς ἀκούοντας.
- 11** γνοίῃ δ' ἂν τις ἐκείθεν τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῶν· ἦν γάρ τις τῶν
 ποιημάτων τῶν εὐδοκιμούντων τὰ μὲν ὀνόματα καὶ τὰς δια-
 νοίας καταλίπη, τὸ δὲ μέτρον διαλύσῃ, φανήσεται πολὺ **b**
 καταδεέστερα τῆς δόξης ἧς νῦν ἔχομεν περὶ αὐτῶν. ὅμως
 δὲ καίπερ τοσοῦτον πλεονεκτούσης τῆς ποιήσεως, οὐκ ὀκη-
 τέον ἀλλ' ἀποπειρατέον τῶν λόγων ἐστίν, εἰ καὶ τοῦτο δυνη-
 σονται, τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας εὐλογεῖν μηδὲν χεῖρον τῶν ἐν
 ταῖς ᾠδαῖς καὶ τοῖς μέτροις ἐγκωμιαζόντων.
- 12** Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν περὶ τῆς φύσεως τῆς Εὐαγόρου, καὶ **c**
 τίνων ἦν ἀπόγονος, εἰ καὶ πολλοὶ προεπίστανται, δοκεῖ μοι
 πρέπειν ἀμὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἕνεκα διελθεῖν περὶ αὐτῶν, ἵνα
 πάντες εἰδῶσιν ὅτι καλλίστων αὐτῷ καὶ μεγίστων παραδει-
 γμάτων καταλειφθέντων οὐδὲν καταδεέστερον αὐτὸν ἐκείνων
- 13** παρέσχεν. ὁμολογεῖται μὲν γὰρ τοὺς ἀπὸ Διὸς εὐγενεστά-
 τους τῶν ἡμιθέων εἶναι, τούτων δ' αὐτῶν οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις **d**
 οὐκ ἂν Αἰακίδας προκρίνειεν· ἐν μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ἄλλοις γένεσιν
 εὐρήσομεν τοὺς μὲν ὑπερβάλλοντας, τοὺς δὲ καταδεεστέρους
 ὄντας, οὗτοι δ' ἅπαντες ὀνομαστότατοι τῶν καθ' αὐτοὺς γεγο-
- 14** νασιν. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ Αἰακὸς ὁ Διὸς μὲν ἔκγονος, τοῦ δὲ
 γένους τοῦ Τευκρινῶν πρόγονος, τοσοῦτον διήνεγκεν ὥστε
 γενομένων αὐχμῶν ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλήσι καὶ πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων
 διαφθαρέντων, ἐπειδὴ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς συμφορᾶς ὑπερ-
 έβαλλεν, ἦλθον οἱ προεστῶτες τῶν πόλεων ἰκετεύοντες **e**
 αὐτόν, νομίζοντες διὰ τῆς συγγενείας καὶ τῆς εὐσεβείας τῆς
 ἐκείνου τάχιςτ' ἂν εὐρέσθαι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν τῶν παρόντων
- 15** κακῶν ἀπαλλαγὴν. σωθέντες δὲ καὶ τυχόντες ὧν ἐδεήθησαν,
 ἱερὸν ἐν Αἰγίνῃ κατεστήσαντο κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οὐπερ
 ἐκείνος ἐποιήσατο τὴν εὐχὴν. καὶ κατ' ἐκείνόν τε τὸν χρόνον, **192**

ἕως ἦν μετ' ἀνθρώπων, μετὰ καλλίστης ὧν δόξης διετέλεσεν·
 ἐπειδὴ δὲ μετήλλαξε τὸν βίον, λέγεται παρὰ Πλούτωνι καὶ
 Κόρῃ μεγίστας τιμὰς ἔχων παρεδρεῦειν ἐκείνοις. τούτου δὲ 16
 παῖδες ἦσαν Τελαμῶν καὶ Πηλεὺς, ὧν ὁ μὲν ἕτερος μεθ'
 Ἡρακλέους ἐπὶ Λαομέδοντα στρατευσάμενος ἀριστείων
 ἠξιώθη, Πηλεὺς δ' ἐν τε τῇ μάχῃ τῇ πρὸς Κενταύρους
 b ἀριστεύσας καὶ κατὰ πολλοὺς ἄλλους κινδύνους εὐδοκμήσας
 Θέτιδι τῇ Νηρέως, θνητὸς ὧν ἀθανάτη, συνώκησε, καὶ μόνου
 τούτου φασὶ τῶν προγεγενημένων ὑπὸ θεῶν ἐν τοῖς γάμοις
 ὑμέναιον ἄσθῆναι. τούτων δ' ἑκατέρου, Τελαμῶνος μὲν Αἴας 17
 καὶ Τεῦκρος ἐγενέσθην, Πηλέως δ' Ἀχιλλεύς, οἱ μέγιστον
 καὶ σαφέστατον ἔλεγχον ἔδοσαν τῆς αὐτῶν ἀρετῆς· οὐ γὰρ
 ἐν ταῖς αὐτῶν πόλεσι μόνον ἐπρώτευσαν, οὐδ' ἐν τοῖς τόποις
 ἐν οἷς κατῴκουν, ἀλλὰ στρατείας τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐπὶ τοὺς
 c βαρβάρους γενομένης, καὶ πολλῶν μὲν ἑκατέρων ἀθροισθέν-
 των, οὐδενὸς δὲ τῶν ὀνομαστῶν ἀπολειφθέντος, ἐν τούτοις 18
 τοῖς κινδύνοις Ἀχιλλεὺς μὲν ἀπάντων διήνεγκεν, Αἴας δὲ
 μετ' ἐκείνον ἠρίστευσε, Τεῦκρος δὲ τῆς τε τούτων συγγενείας
 ἄξιος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οὐδενὸς χείρων γενόμενος, ἐπειδὴ
 Τροίαν συνεξείλεν, ἀφικόμενος εἰς Κύπρον Σαλαμῖνά τε
 κατῴκισεν, ὁμώνυμον ποιήσας τῆς πρότερον αὐτῷ πατρίδος
 d οὔσης, καὶ τὸ γένος τὸ νῦν βασιλεῦον κατέλιπεν.

Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐξ ἀρχῆς Εὐαγόρα παρὰ τῶν προγόνων ὑπάρ- 19
 ξαντα τηλικαῦτα τὸ μέγεθός ἐστιν. τούτου δὲ τὸν τρόπον
 τῆς πόλεως κατοικισθείσης κατὰ μὲν ἀρχὰς οἱ γεγονότες
 ἀπὸ Τεῦκρου τὴν βασιλείαν εἶχον, χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον ἀφικό-
 μενος ἐκ Φωιῆκης ἀνὴρ φυγὰς καὶ πιστευθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ τότε
 e βασιλεύοντος καὶ μεγάλας δυναστείας λαβὼν οὐ χάριν ἔσχε 20
 τούτων, ἀλλὰ κακὸς μὲν γενόμενος περὶ τὸν ὑποδεξάμενον,
 δεινὸς δὲ πρὸς τὸ πλεονεκτῆσαι, τὸν μὲν ἐνεργέτην ἐξέβαλεν,
 αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν κατέσχευεν. ἀπιστῶν δὲ τοῖς πε-
 πραγμένοις καὶ βουλόμενος ἀσφαλῶς κατασκευάσασθαι τὰ
 περὶ αὐτὸν τὴν τε πόλιν ἐξεβαρβάρωσε καὶ τὴν νῆσον ὅλην

21 βασιλεῖ τῷ μεγάλῳ κατεδούλωσεν. οὕτω δὲ καὶ τῶν πραγ- 193
μάτων καθεστῶτων καὶ τῶν ἐκγόνων τῶν ἐκείνου τὴν ἀρχὴν
ἐχόντων Εὐαγόρας γίγνεται· περὶ οὗ τὰς μὲν φήμας καὶ τὰς
μαντείας καὶ τὰς ὄψεις τὰς ἐν τοῖς ὕπνοις γενομένας, ἐξ
ᾧν μειζόνως ἂν φανεῖη γεγονὼς ἢ κατ' ἀνθρώπου, αἰροῦμαι
παραλιπεῖν, οὐκ ἀπιστῶν τοῖς λεγομένοις, ἀλλ' ἵνα πᾶσι
ποιήσω φανερόν ὅτι τοσούτου δέω πλασάμενος εἰπεῖν τι
περὶ τῶν ἐκείνῳ πεπραγμένων, ὥστε καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων
ἀφήμι τὰ τοιαῦτα, περὶ ᾧν ὀλίγοι τινὲς ἐπίστανται καὶ μὴ
πάντες οἱ πολῖται συνίσασιν. ἄρξομαι δ' ἐκ τῶν ὁμολογου- b
μένων λέγειν περὶ αὐτοῦ.

22 Παῖς μὲν γὰρ ᾧν ἔσχε κάλλος καὶ ῥώμην καὶ σωφροσύνην,
ἄπερ τῶν ἀγαθῶν πρεπωδέστατα τοῖς τηλικούτοις ἐστίν. καὶ
τούτων μάρτυρας ἂν τις ποιήσαιο, τῆς μὲν σωφροσύνης
τοὺς συμπαιδευθέντας τῶν πολιτῶν, τοῦ δὲ κάλλους ἅπαντας
τοὺς ἰδόντας, τῆς δὲ ῥώμης τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἐν οἷς ἐκείνος τῶν
23 ἡλικιωτῶν ἐκρατίστευσεν. ἀνδρὶ δὲ γενομένῳ ταυτὰ τε c
πάντα συνηξήθη καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἀνδρία προσεγένετο καὶ
σοφία καὶ δικαιοσύνη, καὶ ταῦτ' οὐ μέσως οὐδ' ὥσπερ ἑτέροις,
ἀλλ' ἕκαστον αὐτῶν εἰς ὑπερβολήν· τοσοῦτον γὰρ καὶ ταῖς
24 τοῦ σώματος καὶ ταῖς τῆς ψυχῆς ἀρεταῖς διήνεγκεν ὥσθ',
ὅποτε μὲν αὐτὸν ὀρῶεν οἱ τότε βασιλεύοντες, ἐκπλήττεσθαι
καὶ φοβεῖσθαι περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἡγουμένους οὐχ οἶόν τ' εἶναι
τὸν τοιοῦτον τὴν φύσιν ἐν ἰδιώτῳ μέρει διαγαγεῖν, ὅποτε d
δ' εἰς τοὺς τρόπους ἀποβλέψειαν, οὕτω σφόδρα πιστεύειν
ὥστ', εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλος τολμῶη περὶ αὐτοὺς ἐξαμαρτάνειν,
25 νομίζειν Εὐαγόραν αὐτοῖς ἔσεσθαι βοηθόν. καὶ τοσοῦτον
τῆς δόξης παραλλαττούσης οὐδετέρου τούτων ἐψεύσθησαν·
οὔτε γὰρ ἰδιώτης ᾧν διετέλεσεν οὔτε περὶ ἐκείνους ἐξή-
μαρτεν, ἀλλὰ τοσαύτην ὁ δαίμων ἔσχεν αὐτοῦ πρόνοιαν,
ὅπως καλῶς λήψεται τὴν βασιλείαν, ὥσθ' ὅσα μὲν
ἀναγκαῖον ἦν παρασκευασθῆναι δι' ἀσεβείας, ταῦτα μὲν e
26 ἕτερος ἔπραξεν, ἐξ ᾧν δ' οἶόν τ' ἦν ὁσίως καὶ δικαίως

λαβεῖν τὴν ἀρχήν, Εὐαγόρα διεφύλαξεν. εἰς γὰρ τῶν δυνα-
στεύοντων ἐπιβουλεύσας τὸν τε τύραννον ἀπέκτεινε καὶ
συλλαβεῖν Εὐαγόραν ἐπεχείρησεν, ἡγούμενος οὐ δυνήσεσθαι
κατασχεῖν τὴν ἀρχήν, εἰ μὴ κάκεινον ἐκποδὼν ποιήσαιοτο.

- 194 διαφυγῶν δὲ τὸν κίνδυνον καὶ σωθεὶς εἰς Σόλους τῆς Κιλικίας 27
οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην ἔσχε τοῖς ταῖς τοιαύταις συμφοραῖς
περιπίπτουσιν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι, κὰν ἐκ τυραννίδος ἐκ-
πέσωσι, διὰ τὰς παρούσας τύχας ταπεινωτέρας τὰς ψυχὰς
ἔχουσιν· ἐκεῖνος δ' εἰς τοσοῦτον μεγαλοφροσύνης ἦλθεν
ὥστε τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον ἰδιώτης ὢν, ἐπειδὴ φεύγειν ἤναγ-
κάσθη, τυραννεῖν ᾤθη δέιν. καὶ τοὺς μὲν πλάνους τοὺς 28
φυγαδικούς καὶ τὸ δι' ἐτέρων ζητεῖν τὴν κάθοδον καὶ θερα-
b πεύειν αὐτοῦ χεῖρους ὑπερεῖδεν, λαβὼν δὲ ταύτην ἀφορμήν,
ἦνπερ χρή τοὺς εὐσεβεῖν βουλομένους, ἀμύνεσθαι καὶ μὴ
προτέρους ὑπάρχειν, καὶ προελόμενος ἢ κατορθώσας τυραννεῖν
ἢ διαμαρτῶν ἀποθανεῖν, παρακαλέσας ἀνθρώπους, ὥς οἱ τοὺς
πλείστους λέγοντες, περὶ πεντήκοντα, μετὰ τούτων παρε-
σκευάζετο ποιεῖσθαι τὴν κάθοδον. ὅθεν καὶ μάλιστ' ἂν τις 29
c καὶ τὴν φύσιν τὴν ἐκείνου καὶ τὴν δόξαν ἣν εἶχε παρὰ τοῖς
ἄλλοις θεωρήσειεν· μέλλοντος γὰρ πλείν μετὰ τοσούτων
ἐπὶ τηλικαύτην πρᾶξιν τὸ μέγεθος καὶ πάντων τῶν δεινῶν
πλησίον ὄντων οὐτ' ἐκεῖνος ἠθύμῃσεν οὔτε τῶν παρακλη-
θέντων οὐδεὶς ἀποστήναι τῶν κινδύνων ἠξίωσεν, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν
ὥσπερ θεῶ συνακολουθοῦντες ἅπαντες ἐνέμειναν τοῖς ὁμο-
λογημένοις, ὁ δ' ὥσπερ ἢ στρατόπεδον ἔχων κρείττον τῶν
d ἀντιπάλων ἢ προειδὼς τὸ συμβησόμενον οὕτω διέκειτο τὴν
γνώμην. δῆλον δ' ἐκ τῶν ἔργων· ἀποβὰς γὰρ εἰς τὴν νῆσον 30
οὐχ ἡγήσατο δεῖν χωρίον ἐχυρὸν καταλαβὼν καὶ τὸ σῶμ' ἐν
ἀσφαλείᾳ καταστήσας περιδεῖν, εἴ τινας αὐτῷ τῶν πολιτῶν
βοηθήσουσιν· ἀλλ' εὐθύς, ὥσπερ εἶχε, ταύτης τῆς νυκτὸς
διελὼν τοῦ τείχους πυλῖδα καὶ ταύτῃ τοὺς μεθ' αὐτοῦ δια-
γαγὼν προσέβαλλε πρὸς τὸ βασίλειον. καὶ τοὺς μὲν θορύ- 31
e βους τοὺς ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις καιροῖς γιγνομένους καὶ τοὺς

- φόβους τοὺς τῶν ἄλλων καὶ τὰς παρακελεύσεις τὰς ἐκείνων
 τί δεῖ λέγοντα διατρίβειν; γενομένων δ' αὐτῷ τῶν μὲν περὶ
 τὸν τύραννον ἀνταγωνιστῶν, τῶν δ' ἄλλων πολιτῶν θεατῶν,
 —δεδιότες γὰρ τοῦ μὲν τὴν ἀρχήν, τοῦ δὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἦσαν **195**
32 χίαν εἶχον,—οὗ πρότερον ἐπαύσατο μαχόμενος καὶ μόνος πρὸς
 πολλοὺς καὶ μετ' ὀλίγων πρὸς ἅπαντας τοὺς ἐχθροὺς, πρὶν
 ἐλεῖν τὸ βασίλειον, καὶ τοὺς τ' ἐχθροὺς ἐτιμωρήσατο καὶ
 τοῖς φίλοις ἐβοήθησεν, ἔτι δὲ τῷ γένει τὰς τιμὰς τὰς πα-
 τρίους ἐκομίσαστο, καὶ τύραννον αὐτὸν τῆς πόλεως κατέ-
 στησεν.
- 33** Ἐγούμαι μὲν οὖν, εἰ καὶ μηδεὶς ἄλλου μνησθεῖν, ἀλλ' **b**
 ἐνταῦθα καταλείπομι τὸν λόγον, ῥᾶδιον ἐκ τούτων εἶναι
 γινῶναι τὴν τ' ἀρετὴν τὴν Εὐαγόρου καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν
 πεπραγμένων· οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἔτι γε σαφέστερον περὶ ἀμφο-
34 τέρων τούτων ἐκ τῶν ἐχομένων οἶμαι δηλώσειν. τοσούτων
 γὰρ τυράννων ἐν ἅπαντι τῷ χρόνῳ γεγεννημένων οὐδεὶς φανή-
 σεται τὴν τιμὴν ταύτην κάλλιον ἐκείνου κτησάμενος. εἰ μὲν **c**
 οὖν πρὸς ἕκαστον αὐτῶν τὰς πράξεις τὰς Εὐαγόρου παρα-
 βάλλοιμεν, οὗτ' ἂν ὁ λόγος ἴσως τοῖς καιροῖς ἀρμόσειεν
 οὗτ' ἂν ὁ χρόνος τοῖς λεγομένοις ἀρκέσειεν· ἦν δὲ προελό-
 μενοι τοὺς εὐδοκιμωτάτους ἐπὶ τούτων σκοπῶμεν, οὐδὲν μὲν
 χεῖρον ἐξετῶμεν, πολλὴ δὲ συντομώτερον διαλεχθισόμεθα περὶ
 αὐτῶν.
- 35** Τῶν μὲν οὖν τὰς πατρικὰς βασιλείας παραλαβόντων τίς
 οὐκ ἂν τοὺς Εὐαγόρου κινδύνους προκρίνειεν; οὐδεὶς γάρ
 ἔστιν οὕτω ῥάθυμος, ὅστις ἂν δέξαιτο παρὰ τῶν προγόνων **d**
 τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην παραλαβεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ κτησάμενος ὥσπερ
36 ἐκείνος τοῖς παισὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ καταλιπεῖν. καὶ μὴν τῶν γε
 παλαιῶν καθόδων αὐταὶ μάλιστα· εὐδοκιμοῦσιν ἂς παρὰ τῶν
 ποιητῶν ἀκούομεν· οὗτοι γὰρ οὐ μόνον τῶν γεγεννημένων τὰς
 καλλίστας ἡμῖν ἀπαγγέλλουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν καινὰς
 συντιθέασιν. ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν μεμνηθολόγηκεν, ὅστις
 οὕτω δεινούς καὶ φοβερούς ποιησάμενος τοὺς κινδύνους εἰς **e**

τὴν αὐτοῦ κατῆλθεν· ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν πλείστοι πεποίηται διὰ
τύχην λαβόντες τὰς βασιλείας, οἱ δὲ μετὰ δόλου καὶ τέχνης
περιγεγενημένοι τῶν ἐχθρῶν. ἀλλὰ μὴν τῶν γ' ἐπὶ τάδε 37
γεγενημένων, ἴσως δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀπάντων, Κῦρον τὸν Μήδων
μὲν ἀφελόμενον τὴν ἀρχήν, Πέρσαις δὲ κτησάμενον, καὶ
196 πλείστοι καὶ μάλιστα θαυμάζουσιν. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν τῷ Περσῶν
στρατοπέδῳ τὸ Μήδων ἐνίκησεν, ὁ πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων
καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ῥαδίως ἂν ποιήσειαν· ὁ δὲ διὰ τῆς ψυχῆς
τῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ σώματος τὰ πλείστα φαίνεται τῶν προειρη-
μένων διαπραξάμενος. ἔπειτ' ἐκ μὲν τῆς Κύρου στρατηγίας 38
οὐπω δῆλον ὅτι καὶ τοὺς Εὐαγόρου κινδύνους ἂν ὑπέμεινεν,
ἐκ δὲ τῶν τούτῳ πεπραγμένων ἅπασι φανερόν ὅτι ῥαδίως ἂν
b κακέinois τοῖς ἔργοις ἐπεχείρησεν. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τῷ μὲν
ὁσίως καὶ δικαίως ἅπαντα πέπρακται, τῷ δ' οὐκ εὐσεβῶς
ἔνια συμβέβηκεν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀπώλεσε, Κῦρος
δὲ τὸν πατέρα τὸν τῆς μητρὸς ἀπέκτεινεν. ὥστ' εἴ τινες
βούλωτο μὴ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν συμβάντων ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν
τὴν ἐκατέρου κρίνειν, δικαίως ἂν Εὐαγόραν καὶ τούτου μᾶλλον
ἐπαινεύειαν. εἰ δὲ δεῖ συντόμως καὶ μηδὲν ὑποστειλάμενον 39
c μὴδὲ δέισαντα τὸν φθόνον ἀλλὰ παρρησίᾳ χρησάμενον εἰπεῖν,
οὐδεὶς οὔτε θνητὸς οὔθ' ἡμίθεος οὔτ' ἀθάνατος εὔρεθήσεται
κάλλιον οὐδὲ λαμπρότερον οὐδ' εὐσεβέστερον λαβὼν ἐκείνου
τὴν βασιλείαν. καὶ τούτοις ἐκείνως ἂν τις μάλιστα πιστεύ-
σειεν, εἰ σφόδρα τοῖς λεγομένοις ἀπιστήσας ἐξετάξειεν ἐπι-
χειρήσειεν, ὅπως ἕκαστος ἐτυράννευσεν. φανήσομαι γὰρ
οὐκ ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου μεγάλα λέγειν προθυμούμενος ἀλλὰ
d διὰ τὴν τοῦ πράγματος ἀλήθειαν οὕτω περὶ αὐτοῦ θρασέως
εἰρηκώς.

Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ μικροῖς διήνεγκε, τοιούτων ἂν καὶ τῶν 40
λόγων αὐτῷ προσῆκεν ἀξιοῦσθαι· νῦν δ' ἅπαντες ἂν ὁμολογή-
σειαν τυραννίδα καὶ τῶν θείων ἀγαθῶν καὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων
μέγιστον καὶ σεμνότατον καὶ περιμαχητότατον εἶναι. τὸν
δὴ τὸ κάλλιστον τῶν ὄντων κάλλιστα κτησάμενον τίς ἂν

ἢ ποιητῆς ἢ λόγων εὐρετῆς ἀξίως τῶν πεπραγμένων ἐπαι-
νέσειεν;

- 41 Οὐ τοίνυν ἐν τούτοις ὑπερβαλλόμενος ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις **e**
εὐρεθήσεται καταδεέστερος γενόμενος, ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν εὐ-
φύεστατος ὢν τὴν γνώμην καὶ πλείστα κατορθοῦν δυνάμενος
ὅμως οὐκ ᾤθη δεῖν ὀλιγωρεῖν οὐδ' αὐτοσχεδιάζειν περὶ τῶν
πραγμάτων, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ ζητεῖν καὶ φροντίζειν καὶ βου- **197**
λεύεσθαι τὸν πλείστον τοῦ χρόνου διέτριβεν, ἡγούμενος μὲν,
εἰ καλῶς τὴν αὐτοῦ φρόνησιν παρασκευάσειε, καλῶς αὐτῷ
καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἔξειν, θανμάζων δ' ὅσοι τῶν μὲν ἄλλων
ἐνεκα τῆς ψυχῆς ποιοῦνται τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, αὐτῆς δὲ ταύτης
- 42 μηδὲν τυγχάνουσι φροντίζοντες. ἔπειτα καὶ περὶ τῶν πραγ-
μάτων τὴν αὐτὴν διάνοιαν εἶχεν· ὁρῶν γὰρ τοὺς ἄριστα
τῶν ὄντων ἐπιμελουμένους ἐλάχιστα λυπουμένους, καὶ τὰς **b**
ἀληθινὰς τῶν ῥαθυμιῶν οὐκ ἐν ταῖς ἀργίαις ἀλλ' ἐν ταῖς
εὐπραγίαις ἐνούσας, οὐδὲν ἀνεξέταστον παρέλιπεν, ἀλλ' οὕτως
ἀκριβῶς καὶ τὰς πράξεις ἥδαι καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ἕκαστον
ἐγίνωσκεν, ὥστε μήτε τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύοντας αὐτῷ φθάνειν
μήτε τοὺς ἐπιεικέας ὄντας λανθάνειν ἀλλὰ πάντας τυγχάνειν
τῶν προσηκόντων· οὐ γὰρ ἐξ ὧν ἐτέρων ἤκουεν οὐτ' ἐκόλαζεν **c**
οὐτ' ἐτίμα τοὺς πολίτας, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν αὐτὸς συνῆδει τὰς κρίσεις
- 43 ἐποιεῖτο περὶ αὐτῶν. ἐν τοιαύταις δ' ἐπιμελείαις αὐτὸν κατα-
στήσας οὐδὲ περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκάστην προσπιπτόν-
των οὐδὲ περὶ ἐν πεπλανημένως εἶχεν, ἀλλ' οὕτω θεοφιλῶς
καὶ φιλανθρώπως διώκει τὴν πόλιν, ὥστε τοὺς εἰσαφικνου-
μένους μὴ μᾶλλον Εὐαγόραν τῆς ἀρχῆς ζηλοῦν ἢ τοὺς ἄλλους
τῆς ὑπ' ἐκείνου βασιλείας· ἅπαντα γὰρ τὸν χρόνον διετέλεσεν **d**
οὐδένα μὲν ἀδικῶν, τοὺς δὲ χρηστοὺς τιμῶν, καὶ σφόδρα μὲν
ἀπάντων ἄρχων, νομίμως δὲ τοὺς ἐξαμαρτόντας κολάζων·
- 44 οὐδὲν μὲν συμβούλων δεόμενος, ὅμως δὲ τοῖς φίλοις συμβου-
λευόμενος· πολλὰ μὲν τῶν χρωμένων ἡττώμενος, ἅπαντα δὲ
τῶν ἐχθρῶν περιγιγνόμενος· σεμνὸς ὢν οὐ ταῖς τοῦ προσ-
ώπου συναγωγαῖς ἀλλὰ ταῖς τοῦ βίου κατασκευαῖς· οὐδὲ

- e πρὸς ἐν ἀτάκτως οὐδ' ἀνωμάλως διακείμενος ἀλλ' ὁμοίως τὰς ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις ὁμολογίας ὥσπερ τὰς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις διαφυλάττων· μέγα φρονῶν οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῖς διὰ τύχην ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῖς 45 δι' αὐτὸν γιγνομένοις· τοὺς μὲν φίλους ταῖς εὐεργεσίαις ὑφ'
- 198 αὐτῷ ποιούμενος, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους τῇ μεγαλοψυχίᾳ καταδουλούμενος· φοβερὸς ὢν οὐ τῷ πολλοῖς χαλεπαίνειν ἀλλὰ τῷ πολὺ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων φύσιν ὑπερβάλλειν· ἡγούμενος τῶν ἡδονῶν ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀγόμενος ὑπ' αὐτῶν· ὀλίγοις πόνοις πολλὰς ῥαστώνας κτώμενος ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ μικρὰς ῥαθυμίας μεγάλους πόνους ὑπολειπόμενος· ὅλως οὐδὲν παραλείπων ὦν προσ- 46
- b εἶναι δεῖ τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐκάστης τῆς πολιτείας ἐξειλεγμένος τὸ βέλτιστον, καὶ δημοτικὸς μὲν ὢν τῇ τοῦ πλήθους θεραπείᾳ, πολιτικὸς δὲ τῇ τῆς πόλεως ὅλης διοικήσει, στρατηγικὸς δὲ τῇ πρὸς τοὺς κινδύνους εὐβουλία, τυραννικὸς δὲ τῷ πᾶσι τούτοις διαφέρειν.

Καὶ ταῦθ' ὅτι προσῆν Εὐαγόρα, καὶ πλείω τούτων, ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων ῥάδιον καταμαθεῖν. παραλαβὼν γὰρ τὴν 47

c πόλιν ἐκβεβαρβαρωμένην καὶ διὰ τὴν Φοινίκων ἀρχὴν οὔτε τοὺς Ἑλληνας προσδεχομένην οὔτε τέχνας ἐπισταμένην οὔτ' ἐμπορίῳ χρωμένην οὔτε λιμένα κεκτημένην, ταῦτά τε πάντα διώρθωσε καὶ πρὸς τούτοις καὶ χώραν πολλὴν προσεκτήσατο καὶ τείχη προσπεριεβάλετο καὶ τριήρεις ἐναυπηγήσατο καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις κατασκευαῖς οὕτως ᾗῤῥησε τὴν πόλιν ὥστε μηδεμιᾶς τῶν Ἑλληνίδων ἀπολελεῖσθαι, καὶ δύναμιν τοσαύτην ἐνεποίησεν ὥστε πολλοὺς φοβεῖσθαι τῶν πρότερον

d καταφρονούντων αὐτῆς. καίτοι τηλικαύτας ἐπιδόσεις τὰς 48 πόλεις λαμβάνειν οὐχ οἷον τ' ἐστίν, ἣν μὴ τις αὐτὰς διοικῇ τοιούτοις ἡθεσιν οἷοις Εὐαγόρας μὲν εἶχεν, ἐγὼ δ' ὀλίγῳ πρότερον ἐπειράθην διελθεῖν. ὥστ' οὐ δέδοικα μὴ φανῶ μείζω λέγων τῶν ἐκείνῳ προσόντων, ἀλλὰ μὴ πολὺ λίαν ἀπολειφθῶ τῶν πεπραγμένων αὐτῷ. τίς γὰρ ἂν ἐφίκοιτο 49 τοιαύτης φύσεως, ὃς οὐ μόνον τὴν αὐτοῦ πόλιν πλείονος ἀξίαν ἐποίησεν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν τόπον ὅλον τὸν περιέχοντα τὴν

- νῆσον ἐπὶ πραότητα καὶ μετριότητα προήγαγεν; πρὶν μὲν **e**
γε λαβεῖν Εὐαγόραν τὴν ἀρχὴν οὕτως ἀπροσοίστως καὶ
χαλεπῶς εἶχον, ὥστε καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων τούτους ἐνόμιζον
εἶναι βελτίστους, οἷτινες ὁμότατα πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας δια-
50 κείμενοι τυγχάνοιεν· νῦν δὲ τοσοῦτον μεταπεπτώκασιν ὥσθ' **199**
ἀμυλλᾶσθαι μὲν, οἷτινες αὐτῶν δόξουσι φιλέλληνες εἶναι
μάλιστα, παιδοποιεῖσθαι δὲ τοὺς πλείστους αὐτῶν γυναικας
λαμβάνοντας παρ' ἡμῶν, χαίρειν δὲ καὶ τοῖς κτήμασι καὶ
τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασι τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς παρὰ
σφίσιν αὐτοῖς, πλείους δὲ καὶ τῶν περὶ τὴν μουσικὴν καὶ
περὶ τὴν ἄλλην παιδείωσιν ἐν τούτοις τοῖς τόποις διατρίβειν
ἢ παρ' οἷς πρότερον εἰωθότες ἦσαν. καὶ τούτων ἀπάντων **b**
οὐδεὶς ὅστις οὐκ ἂν Εὐαγόραν αἴτιον εἶναι προσομολογή-
σειεν.
- 51 Μέγιστον δὲ τεκμήριον καὶ τοῦ τρόπου καὶ τῆς ὁσιότητος
τῆς ἐκείνου· τῶν γὰρ Ἑλλήνων πολλοὶ καὶ καλοὶ κάγαθοι
τὰς αὐτῶν πατρίδας ἀπολιπόντες ἦλθον εἰς Κύπρον οἰκή-
σונτες, ἡγούμενοι κουφοτέραν καὶ νομιμωτέραν εἶναι τὴν
Εὐαγόρου βασιλείαν τῶν οἴκοι πολιτειῶν· ὧν τοὺς μὲν
52 ἄλλους ὀνομαστὶ διελθεῖν πολὺν ἂν ἔργον εἴη· Κόνωνα δὲ
τὸν διὰ πλείστας ἀρετὰς πρωτεύσαντα τῶν Ἑλλήνων τίς οὐκ **c**
οἶδεν, ὅτι δυστυχησάσης τῆς πόλεως ἐξ ἀπάντων ἐκλεξάμενος
ὥς Εὐαγόραν ἦλθε, νομίσας καὶ τῷ σώματι βεβαιωτάτην
εἶναι τὴν παρ' ἐκείνῳ καταφυγὴν καὶ τῇ πόλει τάχιστ' ἂν
αὐτὸν γενέσθαι βοηθόν. καὶ πολλὰ πρότερον ἤδη κατωρθω-
κὼς οὐδὲ περὶ ἐνὸς πώποτε πράγματος ἔδοξεν ἄμεινον ἢ
53 περὶ τούτου βουλευσάσθαι· συνέβη γὰρ αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν ἀφίξιν
τὴν εἰς Κύπρον καὶ ποιῆσαι καὶ παθεῖν πλείστ' ἀγαθὰ. **d**
πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἔφθασαν ἀλλήλοισι πλησιάσαντες καὶ
περὶ πλείονος ἐποιήσαντο σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἢ τοὺς πρότερον
οἰκέλους ὄντας. ἔπειτα περὶ τε τῶν ἄλλων ὁμονοοῦντες
ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον διετέλεσαν καὶ περὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεως
54 τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην εἶχον. ὁρῶντες γὰρ αὐτὴν ὑπὸ Λακεδαι-

- μονίοις οὔσαν καὶ μεγάλη μεταβολῇ κεχρημένην λυπηρῶς
 e καὶ βαρέως ἔφερον, ἀμφοτέροι προσηύκοντα ποιοῦντες· τῷ
 μὲν γὰρ ἦν φύσει πατρίς, τὸν δὲ διὰ πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας
 εὐεργεσίας νόμφη πολίτην ἐπεποίητο. σκοποῦμένοις δ' αὐ-
 τοῖς, ὅπως τῶν συμφορῶν αὐτὴν ἀπαλλάξουσιν, ταχὺν τὸν
 200 καιρὸν Λακεδαιμόνιοι παρεσκεύασαν· ἄρχοντες γὰρ τῶν Ἑλ-
 λήνων καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν εἰς τοῦτ' ἀπληστίας
 ἦλθον ὥστε καὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν κακῶς ποιεῖν ἐπεχείρησαν.
 λαβόντες δ' ἐκείνοι τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν 55
 τῶν βασιλέως ἀπορούντων, ὃ τι χρῆσονται τοῖς πράγμασιν,
 ἐδίδασκον αὐτοὺς μὴ κατὰ γῆν ἀλλὰ κατὰ θάλατταν ποιεῖσθαι
 τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους, νομίζοντες, εἰ μὲν
 πεζὸν στρατόπεδον καταστήσαιντο καὶ τούτῳ περιγένοιτο,
 b τὰ περὶ τὴν ἡπειρον μόνον καλῶς ἔξειν, εἰ δὲ κατὰ θάλατταν
 κρατήσειαν, ἅπασαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα τῆς νίκης ταύτης μεθέξειν.
 ὅπερ συνέβη· πεισθέντων γὰρ ταῦτα τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ 56
 ναυτικοῦ συλλεγέντος Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν κατεναυμαχῆθησαν
 καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπεστερήθησαν, οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες ἡλευθερώ-
 θησαν, ἣ δὲ πόλις ἡμῶν τῆς παλαιᾶς δόξης μέρος τι πάλιν
 ἀνέλαβε καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἡγεμὼν κατέστη. καὶ ταῦτ'
 c ἐπράχθη Κόνωνος μὲν στρατηγοῦντος, Εὐαγόρου δὲ τοῦτο
 παρασχόντος καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως τὴν πλείστην παρασκευά-
 σαντος. ὑπὲρ ὧν ἡμεῖς μὲν αὐτοὺς ἐτιμήσαμεν ταῖς μεγί- 57
 σταις τιμαῖς καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας αὐτῶν ἐστήσαμεν, οὐπὲρ τὸ
 τοῦ Διὸς ἄγαλμα τοῦ Σωτήρος, πλησίον ἐκείνου τε καὶ
 σφῶν αὐτῶν, ἀμφοτέρων ὑπόμνημα, καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους τῆς
 εὐεργεσίας καὶ τῆς φιλίας τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους.
 d Βασιλεὺς δ' οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην ἔσχε περὶ αὐτῶν, ἀλλ'
 ὅσῳ μείζω καὶ πλείονος ἄξια κατηργάσαντο, τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον
 ἔδεισεν αὐτούς. περὶ μὲν οὖν Κόνωνος ἄλλος ἡμῖν ἔσται
 λόγος· ὅτι δὲ πρὸς Εὐαγόραν οὕτως ἔσχε, οὐδ' αὐτὸς λαθεῖν
 ἐζήτησεν. φαίνεται γὰρ μᾶλλον μὲν σπουδάσας περὶ τὸν 58
 ἐν Κύπρῳ πόλεμον ἢ περὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας, μείζω δὲ

- καὶ χαλεπώτερον ἐκείνου ἀνταγωνιστὴν νομίσας ἢ Κῦρον τὸν
περὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἀμφισβητήσαντα. μέγιστον δὲ τεκμή- **e**
ριον· τοῦ μὲν γὰρ ἀκούων τὰς παρασκευὰς τοσούτου κατε-
φρόνησεν ὥστε διὰ τὸ μὴ φροντίζειν μικροῦ δεῖν ἔλαθεν
αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ βασιλείῳ ἐπιστάς· πρὸς δὲ τοῦτον οὕτως ἐκ
πολλοῦ περιδεῶς ἔσχευεν ὥστε μεταξὺ πάσχων εὖ πολεμεῖν
πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπεχείρησε, δίκαια μὲν οὐ ποιοῦν, οὐ μὴν παντά- **201**
59 πασι ἀλόγως βουλευσάμενος. ἡπίστατο μὲν γὰρ πολλοὺς
καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐκ ταπεινῶν καὶ φαύλων
πραγμάτων μεγάλας δυναστείας κατεργασάμενους, ἥσθάνετο
δὲ τὴν Εὐαγόρου μεγαλοψυχίαν καὶ τὰς ἐπιδόσεις αὐτῷ καὶ
τῆς δόξης καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων οὐ κατὰ μικρὸν γιγνομένας
ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν φύσιν ἀνυπέρβλητον ἔχοντα καὶ τὴν τύχην
60 αὐτῷ συναγωνιζομένην· ὥστ' οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῶν γεγενημένων **b**
ὀργιζόμενος ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν μελλόντων φοβούμενος, οὐδὲ
περὶ Κύπρου μόνον δεδιὼς ἀλλὰ πολὺ περὶ μειζόνων ἐποίη-
σατο τὸν πόλεμον πρὸς αὐτόν. οὕτω δ' οὖν ὥρμησεν ὥστ'
εἰς τὴν στρατείαν ταύτην πλεόν ἢ τάλαντα πεντακισχίλια
61 καὶ μύρια κατηνάλωσεν. ἀλλ' ὅμως Εὐαγόρας πάσαις ἀπο-
λελειμμένος ταῖς δυνάμεσιν, ἀντιτάξας τὴν αὐτοῦ γνώμην
πρὸς τὰς οὕτως ὑπερμεγέθεις παρασκευάς, ἐπέδειξεν αὐτὸν **c**
ἐν τούτοις πολὺ θαυμαστότερον ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς προειρη-
μένοις. ὅτε μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν εἶων εἰρήνην ἄγειν, τὴν αὐτοῦ
62 πόλιν μόνην εἶχεν· ἐπειδὴ δ' ἠναγκάσθη πολεμεῖν, τοιοῦτος
ἦν καὶ τοιοῦτον εἶχε Πυνταγόραν τὸν υἱὸν τὸν αὐτοῦ συν-
αγωνιστὴν, ὥστε μικροῦ μὲν ἐδέησε Κύπρον ἅπασαν κατα-
σχεῖν, Φοινίκην δ' ἐπόρθησε, Τύρον δὲ κατὰ κράτος εἶλε,
Κιλικίαν δὲ βασιλέως ἀπέστησε, τοσούτους δὲ τῶν πολεμίων
ἀπώλεσεν ὥστε πολλοὺς Περσῶν πενθοῦντας τὰς αὐτῶν **d**
63 συμφορὰς μεμνησθαι τῆς ἀρετῆς τῆς ἐκείνου· τελευτῶν δ'
οὕτως ἐνέπλησεν αὐτοὺς τοῦ πολεμεῖν, ὥστ' εἰθισμένων τὸν
ἄλλον χρόνον τῶν βασιλέων μὴ διαλλάττεσθαι τοῖς ἀποστάσι,
πρὶν κύριοι γένωιντο τῶν σωμάτων, ἄσμενοι τὴν εἰρήνην

- ἐποιήσαντο, λύσαντες μὲν τὸν νόμον τοῦτον, οὐδὲν δὲ κινήσαντες τῆς Εὐαγόρου τυραννίδος. καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν 64
- e τῶν καὶ δόξαν καὶ δύναμιν μεγίστην ἔχόντων κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον ἐντὸς τριῶν ἐτῶν ἀφείλετο τὴν ἀρχήν, Εὐαγόρα δὲ πολεμήσας ἔτη δέκα τῶν αὐτῶν κύριον αὐτὸν κατέλιπεν, ὦν περ ἦν καὶ πρὶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον εἰσελθεῖν. ὃ δὲ πάντων
- 202 δεινότατον· τὴν γὰρ πόλιν, ἣν Εὐαγόρας ἐτέρου τυραννοῦντος μετὰ πεντήκοντ' ἀνδρῶν εἶλε, ταύτην βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας τοσαύτην δύναμιν ἔχων οὐχ οἷός τ' ἐγένετο χειρώσασθαι.
- Καίτοι πῶς ἂν τις τὴν ἀνδρίαν ἢ τὴν φρόνησιν ἢ σύμ- 65
- πασαν τὴν ἀρετὴν τὴν Εὐαγόρου φανερώτερον ἐπιδείξειεν ἢ διὰ τοιούτων ἔργων καὶ κινδύνων; οὐ γὰρ μόνον φανείται τοὺς ἄλλους πολέμους ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν τῶν ἡρώων ὑπερβαλό-
- b μενος, τὸν ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ὑμνούμενον. οἱ μὲν γὰρ μεθ' ἀπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος Τροίαν μόνην εἶλον, ὃ δὲ μίαν πόλιν ἔχων πρὸς ἅπασαν τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπολέμησεν· ὥστ' εἰ τοσοῦτοι τὸ πλῆθος ἐγκωμιάζειν αὐτὸν ἡβουλήθησαν, ὅσοι περ ἐκείνους, πολλὸν ἂν μείζω καὶ τὴν δόξαν αὐτῶν ἔλαβεν. τίνα γὰρ εὐρήσομεν τῶν τότε γενομένων, εἰ τοὺς μύθους 66 ἀφέντες τὴν ἀλήθειαν σκοποῖμεν, τοιαῦτα διαπεπραγμένον,
- c ἢ τίνα τοσοῦτων μεταβολῶν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν αἴτιον γεγεννημένον; ὃς αὐτὸν μὲν ἐξ ἰδιώτου τύραννον κατέστησε, τὸ δὲ γένος ἅπαν ἀπεληλαμένον τῆς πολιτείας εἰς τὰς προσηκούσας τιμὰς πάλιν ἐπανήγαγε, τοὺς δὲ πολίτας ἐκ βαρβάρων μὲν Ἑλλήνας ἐποίησεν, ἐξ ἀνάνδρων δὲ πολεμικούς, ἐξ ἀδόξων δ' ὀνομαστούς, τὸν δὲ τόπον ἄμεικτον ὅλον παραλαβὼν καὶ 67 παντάπασιν ἐξηγριωμένον ἡμερώτερον καὶ πραότερον κατέ-
- d στησεν, ἔτι δὲ πρὸς τούτοις εἰς ἔχθραν μὲν βασιλεῖ καταστὰς οὕτως αὐτὸν ἡμύνατο καλῶς ὥστ' ἀείμνηστον γεγενῆσθαι τὸν πόλεμον τὸν περὶ Κύπρον, ὅτε δ' ἦν αὐτῷ σύμμαχος, τοσοῦτ' ἡ χρησιμώτερον αὐτὸν παρέσχε τῶν ἄλλων ὥσθ' ὁμολογουμένως μεγίστην αὐτῷ συμβαλέσθαι δύναμιν εἰς τὴν ναυμαχίαν τὴν περὶ Κνίδον· ἥς γενομένης βασιλεὺς μὲν ἀπάσης 68

- τῆς Ἀσίας κύριος κατέστη, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ' ἀντὶ τοῦ τὴν ἡπειρον πορθεῖν περὶ τῆς αὐτῶν κινδυνεύειν ἡναγκάσθησαν, οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες ἀντὶ δουλείας αὐτονομίας ἔτυχον, Ἀθηναῖοι **e** δὲ τοσοῦτον ἐπέδωσαν ὥστε τοὺς πρότερον αὐτῶν ἄρχοντας
- 69 ἐλθεῖν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀρχὴν δώσοντας. ὥστ' εἴ τις ἔροιτό με, τί νομίζω μέγιστον εἶναι τῶν Εὐαγόρα πεπραγμένων, πότερον **203** τὰς ἐπιμελείας καὶ τὰς παρασκευὰς τὰς πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους, ἐξ ὧν τὰ προειρημένα γέγονεν, ἢ τὸν τελευταῖον πόλεμον, ἢ τὴν κατάληψιν τῆς βασιλείας, ἢ τὴν ὅλην τῶν πραγμάτων διοίκησιν, εἰς πολλὴν ἀπορίαν ἂν κατασταίην· ἀεὶ γάρ μοι δοκεῖ μέγιστον εἶναι καὶ θαυμαστότατον, καθ' ὃ τι ἂν αὐτῶν ἐπιστήσω τὴν γνώμην.
- 70 Ὡστ' εἴ τινες τῶν γεγενημένων δι' ἀρετὴν ἀθάνατοι γεγόνασιν, οἶμαι κακέινον ἡξιῶσθαι ταύτης τῆς δωρεᾶς, ση- **b** μείους χρώμενος ὅτι καὶ τὸν ἐνθάδε χρόνον εὐτυχέστερον καὶ θεοφιλέστερον ἐκείνων διαβεβίωκεν. τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἡμιθέων τοὺς πλείστους καὶ τοὺς ὀνομαστοτάτους εὐρήσομεν ταῖς μεγίσταις συμφοραῖς περιπεσόντας, Εὐαγόρας δ' οὐ μόνον θαυμαστότατος ἀλλὰ καὶ μακαριστότατος ἐξ ἀρχῆς
- 71 ὧν διετέλεσεν. τί γὰρ ἀπέλιπεν εὐδαιμονίας; ὅς τοιούτων **c** μὲν προγόνων ἔτυχεν οἷον οὐδεὶς ἄλλος, πλὴν εἴ τις ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐκείνῳ γέγονεν, τοσοῦτον δὲ καὶ τῷ σώματι καὶ τῇ γνώμῃ τῶν ἄλλων διήνεγκεν, ὥστε μὴ μόνον Σαλαμῖνος ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας ἀπάσης ἄξιος εἶναι τυραννεῖν, κάλλιστα δὲ κτησάμενος τὴν βασιλείαν ἐν ταύτῃ τὸν βίον διετέλεσε, θνητὸς δὲ γενόμενος ἀθάνατον τὴν περὶ αὐτοῦ μνήμην κατέ- λιπε, τοσοῦτον δ' ἐβίω χρόνον ὥστε μήτε τοῦ γήρως ἄμειρος γενέσθαι μήτε τῶν νόσων μετασχεῖν τῶν διὰ ταύτην τὴν
- 72 ἡλικίαν γιγνομένων. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις, ὃ δοκεῖ σπανιώτατον **d** εἶναι καὶ χαλεπώτατον, εὐπαιδίας τυχεῖν ἅμα καὶ πολυπαι- δίας, οὐδὲ τούτου διήμαρτεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτ' αὐτῷ συνέπεσεν. καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, ὅτι τῶν ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεγονότων οὐδὲν κατέ- λιπεν ἰδιωτικοῖς ὀνόμασι προσαγορευόμενον, ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν

βασιλέα καλούμενον, τοὺς δ' ἄνακτας, τὰς δ' ἀνάστας. ὥστ' εἴ τινες τῶν ποιητῶν περί τινος τῶν γεγεννημένων ὑπερβολαῖς e κέχρηται, λέγοντες ὡς ἦν θεὸς ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἢ δαίμων θνητός, ἅπαντα τὰ τοιαῦτα περὶ τὴν ἐκείνου φύσιν ῥηθῆναι μάλιστ' ἂν ἀρμόσειεν.

- Τῶν μὲν οὖν εἰς Εὐαγόραν πολλὰ μὲν οἶμαι παράλιπεῖν 73
 204 ὕστερίζω γὰρ τῆς ἀκμῆς τῆς ἑμαντοῦ, μεθ' ἧς ἀκριβέστερον καὶ φιλοπονώτερον ἐξηργασάμην ἂν τὸν ἔπαινον τοῦτον· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν, ὅσον κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν δύναμιν, οὐκ ἀνεγκωμίαστος ἔστιν. ἐγὼ δ', ὦ Νικόκλεις, ἡγοῦμαι μὲν καλὰ μὲν εἶναι μνημεῖα καὶ τὰς τῶν σωμάτων εἰκόνας, πολὺ μέντοι πλείονος ἀξίας τὰς τῶν πράξεων καὶ τῆς διανοίας, ἃς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἂν τις μόνον τοῖς τεχνικῶς ἔχουσι θεωρήσειεν.
- b προκρίνω δὲ ταύτας πρῶτον μὲν εἰδὼς τοὺς καλοὺς ἀγαθοὺς 74 τῶν ἀνδρῶν οὐχ οὕτως ἐπὶ τῷ κάλλει τοῦ σώματος σεμννόμενους ὡς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις καὶ τῇ γνώμῃ φιλοτιμουμένους· ἔπειθ' ὅτι τοὺς μὲν τύπους ἀναγκαῖον παρὰ τούτοις εἶναι μόνους παρ' οἷς ἂν σταθῶσι, τοὺς δὲ λόγους ἐξενεχθῆναι θ' οἷόν τ' ἔστιν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ διαδοθέντας ἐν ταῖς τῶν εὖ φρονούντων διατριβαῖς ἀγαπᾶσθαι, παρ' οἷς κρεῖττόν ἐστιν ἢ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν εὐδοκιμεῖν· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ὅτι 75
- c τοῖς μὲν πεπλασμένοις καὶ γεγραμμένοις οὐδεὶς ἂν τὴν τοῦ σώματος φύσιν ὁμοιώσειε, τοὺς δὲ τρόπους τοὺς ἀλλήλων καὶ τὰς διανοίας τὰς ἐν τοῖς λεγομένοις ἐνούσας ῥᾷδιόν ἐστι μίμεισθαι τοῖς μὴ ῥαθυμεῖν αἰρουμένοις ἀλλὰ χρυστοῖς εἶναι βουλομένοις. ὦν ἕνεκα καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπεχείρησα γράφειν τὸν 76 λόγον τοῦτον, ἡγούμενος καὶ σοὶ καὶ τοῖς σοῖς παισὶ καὶ τοῖς
- d ἄλλοις τοῖς ἀπ' Εὐαγόρου γεγυρόσι πολὺ καλλίστην ἂν γενέσθαι ταύτην παράκλησιν, εἴ τις ἀθροίσας τὰς ἀρετὰς τὰς ἐκείνου καὶ τῷ λόγῳ κοσμήσας παραδοίῃ θεωρεῖν ὑμῖν καὶ συνδιατρίβειν αὐταῖς. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλους προτρέπομεν 77 ἐπὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἐτέρους ἐπαινοῦντες, ἵνα ζηλοῦντες τοὺς εὐλογουμένους τῶν αὐτῶν ἐκείνοις ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἐπιθυμῶσιν·

- ἐγὼ δὲ σὲ καὶ τοὺς σοὺς οὐκ ἄλλοτρίοις παραδείγμασι χρώ-
μενος ἀλλ' οἰκείois παρακαλῶ, καὶ συμβουλευῶ προσέχειν **e**
τὸν νοῦν, ὅπως καὶ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν μηδενὸς ἥττον δυήσει
78 τῶν Ἑλλήνων. καὶ μὴ νόμιζέ με καταγιγνώσκειν, ὥς νῦν
ἀμελείς, ὅτι πολλάκις σοι διακελεύομαι περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν. οὐ
γὰρ οὗτ' ἐμὲ λέληθας οὔτε τοὺς ἄλλους, ὅτι καὶ πρῶτος καὶ **207**
μόνος τῶν ἐν τυραννίδι καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ τρυφαίis ὄντων φιλο-
σοφεῖν καὶ πονεῖν ἐπικεχέληκας, οὐδ' ὅτι πολλοὺς τῶν
βασιλέων ποιήσεις ζηλώσαντας τὴν σὴν παιδευσιν τούτων
τῶν διατριβῶν ἐπιθυμῶν, ἀφεμένους ἐφ' οἷς νῦν λίσαν
79 χαίρουσιν. ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐγὼ ταῦτ' εἰδὼς οὐδὲν ἥττον καὶ
ποιῶ καὶ ποιήσω ταυτόν, ὅπερ ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσιν οἱ
θεαταί· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι παρακελεύονται τῶνδρομέων οὐ τοῖς **b**
ἀπολελειμμένοις· ἀλλὰ τοῖς περὶ τῆς νίκης ἀμιλλωμένοις.
80 ἐμὸν μὲν οὖν ἔργον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων φίλων τοιαῦτα λέγειν
καὶ γράφειν, ἐξ ὧν μέλλομέν σε παροξύνειν ὀρέγεσθαι τού-
των ὧν περ καὶ νῦν τυγχάνεις ἐπιθυμῶν· σοὶ δὲ προσήκει
μηδὲν ἐλλείπειν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ παρόντι καὶ τὸν λοιπὸν
χρόνον ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀσκεῖν, ὅπως ἄξιός ᾖ
καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων προγόνων. ὥς ἅπασιν μὲν **c**
προσὴκει περὶ πολλοῦ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν φρόνησιν, μάλιστα δ'
81 ὑμῖν τοῖς πλείστον καὶ μεγίστων κυρίοις οὔσιν. χρὴ δ' οὐκ
ἀγαπᾶν, εἰ τῶν παρόντων τυγχάνεις ὧν ἤδη κρείττων, ἀλλ'
ἀγανακτεῖν, εἰ τοιοῦτος μὲν ὧν αὐτὸς τὴν φύσιν, γεγονὼς
δὲ τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν ἐκ Διός· τὸ δ' ὑπογυιότατον ἐξ ἀνδρὸς
τοιοῦτου τὴν ἀρετὴν, μὴ πολὺ διοίσεις καὶ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ
τῶν ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς σοι τιμαῖς ὄντων. ἔστι δ' ἐπὶ σοὶ μὴ **d**
διαμαρτεῖν τούτων· ἂν γὰρ ἐμμένῃς τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ καὶ τοσ-
οῦτον ἐπιδιδῶς ὅσον περ νῦν, ταχέως γενήσῃ τοιοῦτος
οἷόν σε προσήκει.

II

ΠΡΟΣ ΝΙΚΟΚΛΕΑ

- 14 Οἱ μὲν εἰωθότες, ὦ Νικόκλεις, τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ὑμῶν ἐσθῆτας ἄγειν ἢ χαλκὸν ἢ χρυσὸν εἰργασμένον ἢ τῶν ἄλλων τι τῶν τοιούτων κτημάτων, ὧν αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐνδεεῖς εἰσίν, ὑμεῖς
- 15 δὲ πλουτεῖτε, λίαν ἔδοξαν εἶναί μοι καταφανεῖς οὐ δόσιν ἀλλ' ἐμπορίαν ποιούμενοι καὶ πολὺ τεχνικώτερον αὐτὰ πωλοῦντες τῶν ὁμολογούντων καπηλεύειν. ἡγησάμην δ' ἂν γενέσθαι 2 ταύτην καλλίστην δωρεὰν καὶ χρησιμωτάτην καὶ μάλιστα πρέπουσαν ἐμοί τε δοῦναι καὶ σοὶ λαβεῖν, εἰ δυνηθείην ὀρίσαι, ποίων ἐπιτηδευμάτων ὀρεγόμενος καὶ τίνων ἀπεχόμενος ἄριστ' ἂν καὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν διοικῶς.
- b τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἰδιώτας ἐστὶ πολλὰ τὰ παιδεύοντα, μάλιστα 3 μὲν τὸ μὴ τρυφᾶν ἀλλ' ἀναγκάζεσθαι περὶ τοῦ βίου καθ' ἐκάστην βουλευέσθαι τὴν ἡμέραν, ἔπειθ' οἱ νόμοι, καθ' οὓς ἕκαστοι πολιτευόμενοι τυγχάνουσιν, ἔτι δ' ἡ παρρησία καὶ τὸ φανερώς ἐξεῖναι τοῖς τε φίλοις ἐπιπλῆξαι καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐπιθέσθαι ταῖς ἀλλήλων ἁμαρτίαις· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ τῶν ποιητῶν τινες τῶν προγεγενημένων ὑποθήκας ὡς χρὴ ζῆν
- c καταλελοίπασιν· ὥστ' ἐξ ἀπάντων τούτων εἰκὸς αὐτοὺς βελτίους γίνεσθαι. τοῖς δὲ τυράννοις οὐδὲν ὑπάρχει τοιοῦτον, 4 ἀλλ' οὓς ἔδει παιδεύεσθαι μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων, ἐπειδὴν εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν καταστῶσιν, ἀνουθέτητοι διατελοῦσιν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ πλείστοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων αὐτοῖς οὐ πλησιάζουσιν, οἱ δὲ συνόντες πρὸς χάριν ὁμιλοῦσιν. καὶ γὰρ τοὶ κύριοι γιγνώ-
- d μени καὶ χρημάτων πλείστων καὶ πραγμάτων μεγίστων, διὰ τὸ μὴ καλῶς χρῆσθαι ταύταις ταῖς ἀφορμαῖς πεποιήκασιν ὥστε πολλοὺς ἀμφισβητεῖν, πότερόν ἐστιν ἄξιον ἐλέσθαι

τὸν βίον τὸν τῶν ἰδιωτευόντων μέν, ἐπεικῶς δὲ πραττόντων,
 5 ἢ τὸν τῶν τυραννεύοντων. ὅταν μὲν γὰρ ἀποβλέψωσιν εἰς
 τὰς τιμὰς καὶ τοὺς πλούτους καὶ τὰς δυναστείας, ἰσοθέους
 ἅπαντες νομίζουσι τοὺς ἐν ταῖς μοναρχίαις ὄντας· ἐπειδὴν
 δ' ἐνθυμηθῶσι τοὺς φόβους καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους, καὶ διεξιόντες **e**
 ὁρῶσι τοὺς μὲν ὑφ' ὧν ἤκιστα χρὴν διεφθαρμένους, τοὺς δ'
 εἰς τοὺς οἰκειοτάτους ἐξαμαρτεῖν ἠναγκασμένους, τοῖς δ' ἀμ-
 φότερα ταῦτα συμβεβηκότα, πάλιν ὁπωσοῦν ζῆν ἡγούνται
 λυσιτελεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ μετὰ τοιούτων συμφορῶν ἀπάσης τῆς
 6 Ἀσίας βασιλεύειν. ταύτης δὲ τῆς ἀνωμαλίας καὶ τῆς ταραχῆς **16**
 αἰτιὸν ἔστιν, ὅτι τὴν βασιλείαν ὥσπερ ἱερωσύνην παντὸς
 ἀνδρὸς εἶναι νομίζουσιν, ὃ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων
 μέγιστόν ἐστι καὶ πλείστης προνοίας δεόμενον.

Καθ' ἐκάστην μὲν οὖν τὴν πρᾶξιν, ἐξ ὧν ἂν τις μάλιστα
 δύναιτο κατὰ τρόπον διοικεῖν καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ διαφυλάττειν,
 τὰς δὲ συμφορὰς διαφεύγειν, τῶν αἰεὶ παρόντων ἔργον ἔστι
 συμβουλευεῖν· καθ' ὅλων δὲ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ὧν χρὴ **b**
 στοχάζεσθαι καὶ περὶ ἃ δεῖ διατρίβειν, ἐγὼ πειράσομαι
 7 διελθεῖν. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἔσται τὸ δῶρον ἐξεργασθὲν ἄξιον τῆς
 ὑποθέσεως, χαλεπὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς συνιδεῖν· πολλὰ γὰρ
 καὶ τῶν μετὰ μέτρου ποιημάτων καὶ τῶν καταλογάδην συγ-
 γραμμάτων ἔτι μὲν ἐν ταῖς διανοαῖς ὄντα τῶν συντιθέντων
 μεγάλας τὰς προσδοκίας παρέσχεν, ἐπιτελεσθέντα δὲ καὶ
 τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπιδειχθέντα πολὺν καταδεεστέραν τὴν δόξαν τῆς
 8 ἐλπίδος ἔλαβεν· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τό γ' ἐπιχείρημα καλῶς ἔχει, **c**
 τὸ ζητεῖν τὰ παραλείμμενα καὶ νομοθετεῖν ταῖς μοναρχίαις.
 οἱ μὲν γὰρ τοὺς ἰδιώτας παιδεύοντες ἐκείνους μόνον
 ὠφελούσιν· εἰ δὲ τις τοὺς κρατοῦντας τοῦ πλήθους ἐπ' ἀρετὴν
 προτρέψειεν, ἀμφοτέρους ἂν ὀνήσειε, καὶ τοὺς τὰς δυνα-
 στείας ἔχοντας καὶ τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτοῖς ὄντας· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἂν
 τὰς ἀρχὰς ἀσφαλεστέρας, τοῖς δὲ τὰς πολιτείας πραοτέρας
 ποιήσειεν.

9 Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν σκεπτέον, τί τῶν βασιλευόντων ἔργον **d**

ἐστίν· ἂν γὰρ ἐν κεφαλαίοις τὴν δύναμιν ὅλου τοῦ πράγματος καλῶς περιλάβωμεν, ἐνταῦθ' ἀποβλέποντες ἄμεινον καὶ περὶ τῶν μερῶν ἐροῦμεν. οἶμαι δὴ πάντας ἂν ὁμολογήσαι προσήκειν αὐτοῖς πόλιν δυστυχοῦσαν παῦσαι καὶ καλῶς πράττουσαν διαφυλάξαι καὶ μεγάλην ἐκ μικρᾶς ποιῆσαι· τὰ
 e γὰρ ἄλλα τὰ συμπύπτοντα κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκάστην τούτων ἕνεκα πρακτέον ἐστίν. καὶ μὴν ἐκεῖνό γε φανερόν, ὅτι δεῖ 10 τοὺς ταῦτα δυνησομένους καὶ περὶ τηλικούτων βουλευομένους μὴ ῥαθυμεῖν μηδ' ἀμελεῖν ἀλλὰ σκοπεῖν, ὅπως φρονιμώτερον
 17 διακείσονται τῶν ἄλλων. δέδεικται γὰρ ὅτι τοιαύτας τὰς βασιλείας ἔξουσιν, οἷας ἂν τὰς αὐτῶν γνώμας παρασκευάσωσιν. ὥστ' οὐδενὶ τῶν ἀσκητῶν οὕτω προσήκει τὸ σῶμα 11 γυμνάζειν ὥς τοῖς βασιλεῦσι τὴν ψυχὴν τὴν αὐτῶν· ἅπασαι γὰρ αἱ πανηγύρεις οὐδ' ἐν μέρος τιθέασιν τούτων τῶν ἄθλων, περὶ ὧν ὑμεῖς καθ' ἐκάστην ἀγωνίζεσθε τὴν ἡμέραν. ὧν ἐνθυμούμενον χρὴ προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν ὅπως, ὅσον περ ταῖς
 b τιμαῖς τῶν ἄλλων προέχεις, τοσοῦτον καὶ ταῖς ἀρεταῖς αὐτῶν διοίσῃς.

Καὶ μὴ νόμιζε τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις πράγ- 12 μασι χρησίμην εἶναι, πρὸς δὲ τὸ βελτίους ἡμᾶς καὶ φρονιμωτέρους γίνεσθαι μηδεμίαν δύναμιν ἔχειν· μηδὲ καταγνῶς τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοσαύτην δυστυχίαν, ὥς περὶ μὲν τὰ θηρία τέχνας εὐρήκαμεν, αἷς αὐτῶν τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμεροῦμεν καὶ πλείονος ἀξίας ποιούμεν, ἡμᾶς δ' αὐτοὺς οὐδὲν ἂν πρὸς ἀρετὴν
 c ὠφελήσαιμεν, ἀλλ' ὥς καὶ τῆς παιδείσεως καὶ τῆς ἐπιμελείας δυναμένης τὴν ἡμετέραν φύσιν εὐεργετεῖν, οὕτω διὰ- 13 κεισο τὴν γνώμην, καὶ τῶν τε παρόντων τοῖς φρονιμωτάτοις πλησίαζε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οὐδ' ἂν δύνῃ μεταπέμπον, καὶ μήτε τῶν ποιητῶν τῶν εὐδοκιμούντων μήτε τῶν σοφιστῶν μηδενὸς οἴου δεῖν ἀπείρως ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν ἀκροατῆς γίγνου, τῶν δὲ μαθητῆς, καὶ παρασκευάζε σαυτὸν τῶν μὲν ἐλαττόνων
 d κριτὴν, τῶν δὲ μειζόνων ἀγωνιστὴν· διὰ γὰρ τούτων τῶν γυμνασίων τάχιστ' ἂν γένοιο τοιοῦτος, οἷον ὑπεθέμεθα δεῖν

- εἶναι τὸν ὀρθῶς βασιλεύοντα καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὡς χρὴ διοική-
 14 σοντα. μάλιστα δ' ἂν αὐτὸς ὑπὸ σαυτοῦ παρακληθείης, εἰ
 δευὼν ἡγήσαιτο τοὺς χείρους τῶν βελτιόνων ἄρχειν καὶ τοὺς
 ἀνοητοτέρους τοῖς φρονιμωτέροις προστάττειν· ὅσῳ γὰρ ἂν
 ἐρρωμενεστέρας τὴν τῶν ἄλλων ἄγνοιαν ἀτιμάσῃς, τοσούτῳ
 μᾶλλον τὴν αὐτοῦ διάνοιαν ἀσκήσεις.
- 15 Ἄρχεσθαι μὲν οὖν ἐντεῦθεν χρὴ τοὺς μέλλοντάς τι τῶν
 δεόντων ποιήσεις, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις φιλάνθρωπον εἶναι δεῖ e
 καὶ φιλόπολιν· οὔτε γὰρ ἵππων οὔτε κυνῶν οὔτ' ἀνδρῶν
 οὔτ' ἄλλον πράγματος οὐδενὸς οἷόν τε καλῶς ἄρχειν, ἂν μὴ
 τις χαίρῃ τούτοις, ὧν αὐτὸν δεῖ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν.
 μελέτω σοι τοῦ πλήθους, καὶ περὶ παντὸς ποιοῦ κεχαρι-
 16 σμένως αὐτοῖς ἄρχειν, γινώσκων ὅτι καὶ τῶν ὀλιγαρχικῶν 18
 καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτειῶν αὗται πλεῖστον χρόνον διαμέ-
 νουσιν, αἵτινες ἂν ἄριστα τὸ πλήθος θεραπεύωσιν. καλῶς
 δὲ δημαγωγήσεις, ἣν μὴθ' ὑβρίζειν τὸν ὄχλον ἐὰς μὴθ'
 ὑβριζόμενον περιορᾷς, ἀλλὰ σκοπῇς, ὅπως οἱ βέλτιστοι μὲν
 τὰς τιμὰς ἔξουσιν, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι μηδὲν ἀδικήσονται· ταῦτα
 γὰρ στοιχεῖα πρῶτα καὶ μέγιστα χρηστῆς πολιτείας ἐστίν.
- 17 τῶν προσταγμάτων καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων κίνει καὶ μετα- b
 τίθει τὰ μὴ καλῶς καθεστῶτα, καὶ μάλιστα μὲν εὐρετῆς
 γίγνου τῶν βελτίστων, εἰ δὲ μὴ, μιμοῦ τὰ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις
 ὀρθῶς ἔχοντα. ζῆτει νόμους τὸ μὲν σύμπαν δικαίους καὶ
 συμφέροντας καὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ὁμολογουμένους, πρὸς δὲ
 τούτοις οἷτινες τὰς μὲν ἀμφισβητήσεις ὡς ἐλαχίστας, τὰς
 δὲ διαλύσεις ὡς οἷόν τε ταχίστας τοῖς πολίταις ποιοῦσιν·
- 18 ταῦτα γὰρ ἅπαντα προσεῖναι δεῖ τοῖς καλῶς κειμένοις. τὰς c
 μὲν ἐργασίας αὐτοῖς καθίστη κερδαλέας, τὰς δὲ πραγματείας
 ἐπιζημίους, ἵνα τὰς μὲν φεύγωσι, πρὸς δὲ τὰς προθυμότερον
 ἔχωσιν. τὰς κρίσεις ποιοῦ περὶ ὧν ἂν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀμ-
 φισβητῶσι μὴ πρὸς χάριν μηδ' ἐναντίας ἀλλήλαις, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ
 ταῦτα περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν γίγνωσκε· καὶ γὰρ πρέπει καὶ συμ-
 φέρει τὴν τῶν βασιλέων γνώμην ἀκινήτως ἔχειν περὶ τῶν

d δικάων, ὥσπερ τοὺς νόμους τοὺς καλῶς κειμένους. οἷκει 19
τὴν πόλιν ὁμοίως ὥσπερ τὸν πατρώον οἶκον ταῖς μὲν κατα-
σκευαῖς λαμπρῶς καὶ βασιλικῶς, ταῖς δὲ πράξεσιν ἀκριβῶς,
ὣν' εὐδοκιμῆς ἅμα καὶ διαρκῆς. τὴν μεγαλοπρέπειαν ἐπι-
δείκνυσο μὴδ' ἐν μιᾷ τῶν πολυτελειῶν τῶν εὐθὺς ἀφανίζο-
μένων ἀλλ' ἐν τε τοῖς προειρημένοις καὶ τῷ κάλλει τῶν
κτημάτων καὶ ταῖς τῶν φίλων εὐεργεσίαις· τὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα
τῶν ἀναλωμάτων αὐτῷ τε σοὶ παραμένει καὶ τοῖς ἐπιγιγνο-
e μένοις πλείονος ἄξια τῶν δεδαπανημένων καταλείψεις.

Τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ποίει μὲν ὡς οἱ πρόγονοι κατέδειξαν, 20
ἡγοῦ δὲ θῦμα τοῦτο κάλλιστον εἶναι καὶ θεραπείαν μεγίστην,
ἂν ὡς βέλτιστον καὶ δικαιοτάτον σαντὸν παρέχῃς· μᾶλλον
19 γὰρ ἑλπίς τοὺς τοιούτους ἢ τοὺς ἱερεῖα πολλὰ καταβάλλοντας
πράξῃω τι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀγαθόν. τίμα ταῖς μὲν ἀρχαῖς
τῶν φίλων τοὺς οἰκειοτάτους, ταῖς δὲ ἀληθείαις αὐταῖς τοὺς
εὐνουστάτους. φυλακὴν ἀσφαλεστάτην ἡγοῦ τοῦ σώματος 21
εἶναι τὴν τε τῶν φίλων ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν τῶν πολιτῶν εὐνοίαν
καὶ τὴν σαντοῦ φρόνησιν· διὰ γὰρ τούτων καὶ κτᾶσθαι καὶ
σώζειν τὰς τυραννίδας μάλιστ' ἂν τις δύναιτο. κήδου τῶν
b οἰκῶν τῶν πολιτικῶν, καὶ νόμιζε καὶ τοὺς δαπανῶντας ἀπὸ
τῶν σῶν ἀναλίσκειν καὶ τοὺς ἐργαζομένους τὰ σὰ πλείω
ποιεῖν· ἅπαντα γὰρ τὰ τῶν οἰκούντων τὴν πόλιν οἰκεῖα τῶν
καλῶς βασιλευόντων ἐστί. διὰ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου τὴν ἀλή- 22
θειαν οὕτω φαίνου προτιμῶν ὥστε πιστοτέρους εἶναι τοὺς
σοὺς λόγους ἢ τοὺς τῶν ἄλλων ὅρκους. ἅπασιν μὲν τοῖς
ξένοις ἀσφαλῆ τὴν πόλιν παρέχε καὶ πρὸς τὰ συμβόλαια
c νόμιμον, περὶ πλείστον δὲ ποιῶν τῶν ἀφικνουμένων μὴ τοὺς
σοὶ δωρεὰς ἄγοντας ἀλλὰ τοὺς παρὰ σοῦ λαμβάνειν ἀξιοῦντας·
τιμῶν γὰρ τοὺς τοιούτους μᾶλλον παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις εὐδοκι-
μήσεις. τοὺς πολλοὺς φόβους ἐξαίρει τῶν πολιτῶν, καὶ μὴ 23
βούλου περιδεεῖς εἶναι τοὺς μὴδὲν ἀδικοῦντας· ὅπως γὰρ ἂν
τοὺς ἄλλους πρὸς σαντὸν διαθῇς, οὕτω καὶ σὺ πρὸς ἐκείνους
ἔξεις. ποίει μὲν μὴδὲν μετ' ὀργῆς, δόκει δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις,

ὅταν σοι καιρὸς ᾗ. δεινὸς μὲν φαίνου τῷ μηδέν σε λανθάνειν τῶν γιγνομένων, πρῶος δὲ τῷ τὰς τιμωρίας ἐλάττους ποιεῖσθαι τῶν ἁμαρτανομένων.

- 24 Ἀρχικὸς εἶναι βούλου μὴ χαλεπότητι μηδὲ τῷ σφόδρα κολάζειν ἀλλὰ τῷ πάντας ἡττᾶσθαι τῆς σῆς διανοίας καὶ νομίζειν ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτῶν σωτηρίας ἄμεινον αὐτῶν σὲ βουλεύεσθαι. πολεμικὸς μὲν ἴσθι ταῖς ἐπιστήμαις καὶ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς, εἰρηνικὸς δὲ τῷ μηδὲν παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον πλεονεκτεῖν. οὕτως ὁμίλει τῶν πόλεων πρὸς τὰς ἡττους ὥσπερ ἂν τὰς
 25 κρείττους πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀξιώσειας. φιλονείκει μὴ περὶ πάντων, ἀλλὰ περὶ ὧν κρατήσαντί σοι μέλλει συνοίσειν. φαύλους ἡγοῦ μὴ τοὺς συμφερόντως ἡττωμένους ἀλλὰ τοὺς μετὰ βλάβης περιγιγνομένους. μεγαλόφρονas νόμιζε μὴ τοὺς
 26 μείζω περιβαλλομένους ὧν οἰοί τ' εἰσι κατασχεῖν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς καλῶν μὲν ἐφιεμένους, ἐξεργάζεσθαι δὲ δυναμένους οἷς ἂν ἐπιχειρῶσω. ζήλου μὴ τοὺς μεγίστην ἀρχὴν κτησαμένους ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἄριστα τῇ παρουσίᾳ χρησαμένους, καὶ νόμιζε τελέως εὐδαιμονήσειν, οὐκ ἔαν πάντων ἀνθρώπων μετὰ φόβων καὶ κινδύνων καὶ κακίας ἄρξης, ἀλλ' ἂν τοιοῦτος ὧν οἷον χρῆ καὶ πράττων ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ παρόντι μετρίων ἐπιθυμῆς καὶ
 27 Φίλους κτῶ μὴ πάντας τοὺς βουλομένους ἀλλὰ τοὺς τῆς σῆς φύσεως ἀξίους ὄντας, μηδὲ μεθ' ὧν ἥδιστα συνδιατρίψεις, ἀλλὰ μεθ' ὧν ἄριστα τὴν πόλιν διοικήσεις. ἀκριβεῖς ποιοῦ τὰς δοκιμασίας τῶν συνόντων, εἰδὼς ὅτι πάντες οἱ μὴ σοι πησιάσαντες ὁμοῖον σε τοῖς χρωμένοις εἶναι νομοῦσιν. τοιοῦτους ἐφίστη τοῖς πράγμασι τοῖς μὴ διὰ σοῦ γιγνομένοις,
 28 ὥς αὐτὸς τὰς αἰτίας ἔξων ὧν ἂν ἐκείνοι πράξωσω. πιστοὺς ἡγοῦ μὴ τοὺς ἅπαν ὅ τι ἂν λέγῃς ἢ ποιῆς ἐπαινοῦντας ἀλλὰ τοὺς τοῖς ἁμαρτανομένοις ἐπιτιμώντας. δίδου παρρησίαν τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσιν, ἵνα περὶ ὧν ἂν ἀμφιγνοῆς ἔχῃς τοὺς συνδοκιμάσουντας. διόρα καὶ τοὺς τέχνη κολακεύοντας καὶ τοὺς μετ' εὐνοίας θεραπεύοντας, ἵνα μὴ πλέον οἱ πονηροὶ τῶν χρηστῶν

ἔχωσιν. ἄκουε τοὺς λόγους τοὺς περὶ ἀλλήλων, καὶ πειρῶ
d γνωρίζειν ἅμα τοὺς τε λέγοντας, ὅποιοί τινές εἰσι, καὶ περὶ
 ὧν ἂν λέγωσιν. ταῖς αὐταῖς κόλαζε ζημiais τοὺς ψευδῶς 29
 διαβάλλοντας αἰσπερ τοὺς ἐξαμαρτάνοντας.

Ἄρχε σαντοῦ μηδὲν ἦττον ἢ τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ τοῦθ' ἡγοῦ
 βασιλικώτατον, ἂν μηδεμιᾷ δουλεύῃς τῶν ἡδονῶν, ἀλλὰ
 κρατῇς τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν πολιτῶν. μηδεμίαν
 συνουσίαν εἰκῇ προσδέχου μηδ' ἀλογίστως, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἐκείναις
e ταῖς διατριβαῖς ἔθιζε σαντὸν χαίρειν, ἐξ ὧν αὐτός τ' ἐπι-
 δώσεις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις βελτίων εἶναι δόξεις. μὴ φαίνου 30
 φιλοτιμούμενος ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις ἃ καὶ τοῖς κακοῖς δια-
 πράξασθαι δυνατόν ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἀρετῇ μέγα φρονῶν, ἥς
 οὐδὲν μέρος τοῖς πονηροῖς μέτεστιν. νόμιζε τῶν τιμῶν ἀλη-
 θεστάτας εἶναι μὴ τὰς ἐν τῷ φανερωῷ μετὰ δέους γιγνομένας,
21 ἀλλ' ὅταν αὐτοὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς ὄντες μᾶλλον σου τὴν γνώμην
 ἢ τὴν τύχην θαυμάζωσιν. λάμβανε μὲν, ἦν ἐπὶ τῷ σοι
 συμβῇ τῶν φαύλων χαίρειν, ἐνδείκνυσσο δὲ περὶ τὰ μέγιστα
 σπουδάζων. μὴ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἀξίου κοσμίως ζῆν, τοὺς 31
 δὲ βασιλεῖς ἀτάκτως, ἀλλὰ τὴν σαντοῦ σωφροσύνην παρά-
 δειγμα τοῖς ἄλλοις καθίστη, γιγνώσκων ὅτι τὸ τῆς πόλεως
 ὅλης ἡθὸς ὁμοιοῦται τοῖς ἄρχουσιν. σημείον ἔστω σοι τοῦ
b καλῶς βασιλεύειν, ἂν τοὺς ἀρχομένους ὁρᾷς εὐπορωτέρους
 καὶ σωφρονεστέρους γιγνομένους διὰ τὴν σὴν ἐπιμέλειαν.
 περὶ πλείονος ποιοῦ δόξαν καλὴν ἢ πλοῦτον μέγαν τοῖς παισὶ 32
 καταλιπεῖν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ θνητός, ἡ δ' ἀθάνατος, καὶ δόξῃ μὲν
 χρήματα κτητά, δόξα δὲ χρημάτων οὐκ ὠνητή, καὶ τὰ μὲν
 καὶ φαύλοις παραγίγνεται, τὴν δ' οὐχ οἷόν τ' ἀλλ' ἢ τοὺς
 διενεγκόντας κτήσασθαι. τρύφα μὲν ἐν ταῖς ἐσθήσι καὶ τοῖς
c περὶ τὸ σῶμα κόσμοις, καρτέρει δ' ὥς χρὴ τοὺς βασιλεύοντας
 ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπιτηδεύμασιν, ἵν' οἱ μὲν ὀρῶντες διὰ τὴν
 ὄψιν ἀξίον σε τῆς ἀρχῆς εἶναι νομίζωσιν, οἱ δὲ συνόντες διὰ
 τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ῥώμην τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκείνοις γνώμην ἔχωσιν.
 ἐπισκόπει τοὺς λόγους αἰεὶ τοὺς σαντοῦ καὶ τὰς πράξεις, ἵν' 33

ὥς ἐλαχίστοις ἁμαρτήμασι περιπίπτῃς. κράτιστον μὲν γὰρ
 τῆς ἀκμῆς τῶν καιρῶν τυγχάνειν, ἐπειδὴ δὲ δυσκαταμαθήτως
 ἔχουσιν, ἐλλείπειν αἰροῦ καὶ μὴ πλεονάζειν· αἱ γὰρ μετριό- d
 τητες μᾶλλον ἐν ταῖς ἐνδείαις ἢ ταῖς ὑπερβολαῖς ἔνευσιν.
 34 ἀστείος εἶναι πειρῶ καὶ σεμνός· τὸ μὲν γὰρ τῇ τυραννίδι
 πρέπει, τὸ δὲ πρὸς τὰς συνουσίας ἀρμόττει. χαλεπώτατον
 δὲ τοῦτο πάντων ἐστὶ τῶν προσταγμάτων· εὐρήσεις γὰρ ὥς
 ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ τοὺς μὲν σεμνυνομένους ψυχροὺς ὄντας, τοὺς
 δὲ βουλομένους ἀστείους εἶναι ταπεινοὺς φαινομένους. δεῖ δὲ
 χρῆσθαι μὲν ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς ἰδέαις ταύταις, τὴν δὲ συμ- e
 35 φορὰν τὴν ἐκατέρᾳ προσοῦσαν διαφεύγειν. ὃ τι ἂν ἀκρι-
 βῶσαι βουλευθῇς ὦν ἐπίστασθαι προσήκει τοὺς βασιλεῖς,
 ἐμπειρίᾳ μέτιθι καὶ φιλοσοφίᾳ· τὸ μὲν γὰρ φιλοσοφεῖν τὰς
 ὁδοὺς σοι δείξει, τὸ δ' ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων γυμνάζεσθαι
 δύνασθαι σε χρῆσθαι τοῖς πράγμασι ποιήσει.

22

Θεώρει τὰ γιγνόμενα καὶ τὰ συμπίπτοντα καὶ τοῖς ἰδιώ-
 ταις καὶ τοῖς τυράννοις ἀπ' αὐτῶν· ἂν γὰρ τὰ παρεληλυθότα
 36 μνημονεύῃς, ἄμεινον περὶ τῶν μελλόντων βουλευθεῖς. δεινὸν
 ἡγοῦ τῶν μὲν ἰδιωτῶν τινας ἐθέλειω ἀποθνήσκειν, ἵνα τελευτή-
 σαντες ἐπαινεθῶσι, τοὺς δὲ βασιλεῖς μὴ τολμᾶν χρῆσθαι
 τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασι τούτοις, ἐξ ὧν ζῶντες εὐδοκίμησουσιν.
 βούλου τὰς εἰκόνας τῆς ἀρετῆς ὑπόμνημα μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ b
 σώματος καταλιπεῖν. μάλιστα μὲν πειρῶ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν
 καὶ σαντῶ καὶ τῇ πόλει διαφυλάττειν· ἣν δ' ἀναγκασθῇς
 κινδυνεύειν, αἰροῦ καλῶς τεθνάναι μᾶλλον ἢ ζῆν αἰσχροῦς.
 37 ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἔργοις μέμνησο τῆς βασιλείας, καὶ φρόντιζ' ὅπως
 μηδὲν ἀνάξιον τῆς τιμῆς ταύτης πράξεις. μὴ περιίδῃς τὴν
 σαυτοῦ φύσιν ἅπασαν ἅμα διαλυθεῖσαν· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ θνητοῦ
 σώματος ἔτυχες, πειρῶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀθάνατον τὴν μνήμην c
 38 καταλιπεῖν. μελέτα περὶ καλῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων λέγειν, ἵνα
 συνεθισθῇς ὅμοια τοῖς εἰρημένοις φρονεῖν. ἅττ' ἂν σοι
 λογιζομένῳ φαίνεται βέλτιστα, ταῦτα τοῖς ἔργοις ἐπιτέλει.
 ὦν τὰς δόξας ζηλοῖς, μμοῦ τὰς πράξεις. ἂ τοῖς αὐτοῦ

παισιν ἂν συμβουλευσείας, τούτοις αὐτὸς ἐμμένειν ἄξιον.

d σοφὸν νόμιζε μὴ τοὺς περὶ μικρῶν ἀκριβῶς ἐρίζοντας ἀλλὰ 39
τοὺς εὖ περὶ τῶν μεγάλων λέγοντας· μὴδὲ τοὺς τοῖς μὲν
ἄλλοις εὐδαιμονίαν ὑπισχνουμένους, αὐτοὺς δ' ἐν πολλαῖς
ἀπορίαις ὄντας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μέτρια μὲν περὶ αὐτῶν λέγοντας,
ὁμιλεῖν δὲ καὶ τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις δυναμένους,
καὶ μὴ διαταραττομένους ἐν ταῖς τοῦ βίου μεταβολαῖς, ἀλλὰ
καλῶς καὶ μετρίως καὶ τὰς συμφορὰς καὶ τὰς εὐτυχίας
φέρειν ἐπισταμένους. χρῶ τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἢ ζῆτει βελτίῳ
τούτων.

e Καὶ μὴ θαυμάσης, εἰ πολλὰ τῶν λεγομένων ἐστὶν ἃ καὶ 40
σὺ γινώσκεις· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐμὲ τοῦτο παρέλαθεν, ἀλλ' ἡπι-
στάμην, ὅτι τοσούτων ὄντων τὸ πλήθος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ

23 τῶν ἀρχόντων οἱ μὲν τι τούτων εἰρήκασιν, οἱ δ' ἀκηκόασιν,
οἱ δ' ἐτέρους ποιῶντας ἑωράκασιν, οἱ δ' αὐτοὶ τυγχάνουσιν
ἐπιτηδεύοντες. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις χρὴ τούτοις 41
[τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων] ζητεῖν τὰς καινότητας, ἐν οἷς οὔτε
παράδοξον οὔτ' ἄπιστον οὔτ' ἕξω τῶν νομιζομένων οὐδὲν
ἕξεσθαι εἰπεῖν, ἀλλ' ἡγεῖσθαι τοῦτον χαριέστατον, ὃς ἂν
τῶν διεσπαρμένων ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἄλλων διανοαῖς ἀθροῖσαι τὰ

b πλεῖστα δυνηθῇ καὶ φράσαι κάλλιστα περὶ αὐτῶν. ἐπεὶ 42
κἀκεῖνό μοι πρόδηλον ἦν, ὅτι τὰ συμβουλευόντα καὶ τῶν
ποιημάτων καὶ τῶν συγγραμμάτων χρησιμώτατα μὲν ἅπαντες
νομίζουσιν, οὐ μὴν ἥδιστα γ' αὐτῶν ἀκούουσιν, ἀλλὰ πεπόν-
θασιν ὅπερ πρὸς τοὺς νουθετοῦντας· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνους ἐπαι-
νοῦσι μὲν, πλησιάζειν δὲ βούλονται τοῖς συνεξαμαρτάνουσιν

c ἀλλ' οὐ τοῖς ἀποτρέπουσιν. σημεῖον δ' ἂν τις ποιήσαιο τὴν 43
Ἑσιόδου καὶ Θεόγνιδος καὶ Φωκυλίδου ποίησιν· καὶ γὰρ
τούτους φασὶ μὲν ἀρίστους γεγενῆσθαι συμβούλους τῷ βίῳ
τῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ταῦτα δὲ λέγοντες αἰροῦνται συνδιατρίβειν
ταῖς ἀλλήλων ἀνοαῖς μᾶλλον ἢ ταῖς ἐκείνων ὑποθήκαις. ἔτι 44
δ' εἴ τις ἐκλέξειε τῶν προεχόντων ποιητῶν τὰς καλουμένας
γνώμας, ἐφ' αἷς ἐκείνοι μάλιστ' ἐσπούδασαν, ὁμοίως ἂν καὶ

πρὸς ταύτας διατεθεῖεν· ἥδιον γὰρ ἂν κωμωδίας τῆς φανλο- d
 45 τάτης ἢ τῶν οὕτω τεχνικῶς πεποιημένων ἀκούσειαν. καὶ τί
 δεῖ καθ' ἕναστον λέγοντα διατρίβειν; ὅλως γὰρ εἰ ἔβλοιμεν
 σκοπεῖν τὰς φύσεις τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, εὐρήσομεν τοὺς
 πολλοὺς αὐτῶν οὔτε τῶν σιτίων χαίροντας τοῖς ὑγιεινοτάτοις
 οὔτε τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων τοῖς καλλίστοις οὔτε τῶν πραγ-
 μάτων τοῖς βελτίστοις οὔτε τῶν θερμμάτων τοῖς ὠφελιμο-
 τάτοις, ἀλλὰ παντάπασιν ἐναντίας τῷ συμφέροντι τὰς ἡδονὰς e
 ἔχοντας, καὶ δοκοῦντας καρτερικοὺς καὶ φιλοπόνους εἶναι τοὺς
 46 τῶν δεόντων τι ποιοῦντας· ὥστε πῶς ἂν τις τοῖς τοιούτοις
 ἢ παραινῶν ἢ διδάσκων ἢ χρήσιμόν τι λέγων ἀρέσειεν; οἱ
 πρὸς τοῖς εἰρημένοις φθονοῦσι μὲν τοῖς εὖ φρονούσιν, ἀπλοῦς 24
 δ' ἡγοῦνται τοὺς νοῦν οὐκ ἔχοντας, οὕτω δὲ τὰς ἀληθείας
 τῶν πραγμάτων φεύγουσιν, ὥστ' οὐδὲ τὰ σφέτερ' αὐτῶν
 ἴσασι, ἀλλὰ λυποῦνται μὲν περὶ τῶν ἰδίων λογιζόμενοι,
 χαίρουσι δὲ περὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων διαλεγόμενοι, βούλονται δ'
 ἂν τῷ σώματι κακοπαθῆσαι μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ ψυχῇ πονῆσαι καὶ
 47 σκέψασθαι περὶ τινος τῶν ἀναγκαίων. εὖροι δ' ἂν τις αὐ-
 τοὺς ἐν μὲν ταῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους συνουσίαις ἢ ληροῦντας ἢ b
 λαιδορουμένους, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἐρημίαις οὐ βουλευομένους ἀλλ'
 εὐχομένους. λέγω δ' οὐ καθ' ἀπάντων ἀλλὰ κατὰ τῶν
 48 ἐνόχων τοῖς εἰρημένοις ὄντων. ἐκεῖνο δ' οὖν φανερόν, ὅτι
 δεῖ τοὺς βουλομένους ἢ ποιεῖν ἢ γράφειν τι κεχαρισμένον
 τοῖς πολλοῖς μὴ τοὺς ὠφελιμωτάτους τῶν λόγων ζητεῖν ἀλλὰ
 τοὺς μυθωδεστάτους· ἀκούοντες μὲν γὰρ τῶν τοιούτων χαί-
 ρουσι, θεωροῦντες δὲ τοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ τὰς ἀμίλλας. διὸ καὶ c
 τὴν Ὀμήρου ποιήσιν καὶ τοὺς πρώτους εὐρόντας τραγωδίας
 ἄξιον θαυμάζειν, ὅτι κατιδόντες τὴν φύσιν τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώ-
 πων ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς ἰδέαις ταύταις κατεχρήσαντο πρὸς τὴν
 49 ποιήσιν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ τοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ τοὺς πολέμους τοὺς τῶν
 ἡμιθέων ἐμυθολόγησεν, οἱ δὲ τοὺς μύθους εἰς ἀγῶνας καὶ
 πράξεις κατέστησαν, ὥστε μὴ μόνον ἀκουστοὺς ἡμῖν ἀλλὰ καὶ
 θεατοὺς γενέσθαι. τοιούτων οὖν παραδειγμάτων ὑπαρχόντων d

δέδεικται τοῖς ἐπιθυμοῦσι τοὺς ἀκρωμένους ψυχαγωγεῖν, ὅτι τοῦ μὲν νουθετεῖν καὶ συμβουλεύειν ἀφεκτέον, τὰ δὲ τοιαῦτα λεκτέον οἷς ὀρώσι τοὺς ὄχλους μάλιστα χαίροντας.

- Ταῦτα δὲ διήλθον ἡγούμενος σὲ δεῖν, τὸν οὐχ ἓνα τῶν 50 πολλῶν ἀλλὰ πολλῶν βασιλεύοντα, μὴ τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην ἔχειν τοῖς ἄλλοις, μηδὲ τὰ σπουδαῖα τῶν πραγμάτων μηδὲ
- e τοὺς εὖ φρονούντας τῶν ἀνθρώπων ταῖς ἡδοναῖς κρῖνειν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῶν χρησίων αὐτοὺς δοκιμάζειν, ἄλλως τ' ἐπειδὴ περὶ 51 μὲν τῶν γυμνασίων τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀμφισβητοῦσιν οἱ περὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ὄντες, καὶ φασιν οἱ μὲν διὰ τῶν ἐριστικῶν λόγων,
- 25 οἱ δὲ διὰ τῶν πολιτικῶν, οἱ δὲ δι' ἄλλων τινῶν φρονιμωτέρους ἔσεσθαι τοὺς αὐτοῖς πλησιάζοντας, ἐκεῖνο δὲ πάντες ὁμολογοῦσιν, ὅτι δεῖ τὸν καλῶς πεπαιδευμένον ἐξ ἐκάστου τούτων φαίνεσθαι βουλευέσθαι δυνάμενον. χρὴ τοίνυν ἀφέ- 52 μενον τῶν ἀμφισβητουμένων ἐπὶ τοῦ συνομολογουμένου λαμβάνειν αὐτῶν τὸν ἔλεγχον, καὶ μάλιστα μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν καιρῶν θεωρεῖν συμβουλεύοντας, εἰ δὲ μή, καὶ καθ' ὅλων τῶν πραγ-
- b μάτων λέγοντας. καὶ τοὺς μὲν μηδὲν γινώσκοντας τῶν δεόντων ἀποδοκίμαζε· δῆλον γὰρ ὡς ὁ μηδὲν ὦν αὐτὸς χρήσιμος οὐδ' ἂν ἄλλον φρόνιμον ποιήσῃ· τοὺς δὲ νοῦν ἔχοντας 53 καὶ δυνάμενους ὁρᾶν πλεόν τι τῶν ἄλλων περὶ πολλοῦ ποιοῦ καὶ θεράπευε, γινώσκων ὅτι σύμβουλος ἀγαθὸς χρησιμώτατον καὶ τυραννικώτατον ἀπάντων τῶν κτημάτων ἐστίν. ἡγοῦ δὲ τούτους μεγίστην σοὶ ποιεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν, οἷτινες
- c ἂν τὴν διάνοιαν τὴν σὴν πλείστ' ὠφελῇσαι δυνήθωσιν.

- Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ἃ τε γινώσκω παρήνεκα καὶ τιμῶ σε 54 τούτοις οἷς τυγχάνω δυνάμενος· βούλουν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, ὅπερ εἶπον ἀρχόμενος, μὴ τὰς εἰθισμένας ἄγειν σοὶ δωρεάς, ἅς ὑμεῖς πολὺ πλείονος ἀγοράζετε παρὰ τῶν διδόντων ἢ παρὰ τῶν πωλούντων, ἀλλὰ τοιαύτας αἷς κἂν σφόδρα χρῇ
- d καὶ μηδεμίαν ἡμέραν διαλείπῃς οὐ κατατρίψῃς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλείονος ἀξίας ποιήσῃς.

III

ΝΙΚΟΚΛΗΣ Η ΚΥΠΡΙΟΙ

Εἰσὶ τινες οἱ δυσκόλως ἔχουσι πρὸς τοὺς λόγους καὶ 26
 διαμέμφονται τοὺς φιλοσοφούντας καὶ φασιν αὐτοὺς οὐκ
 ἀρετῆς ἀλλὰ πλεονεξίας ἕνεκα ποιείσθαι τὰς τοιαύτας δια-
 τριβάς. ἡδέως ἂν οὖν πυθοίμην τῶν οὕτω διακειμένων, διὰ τί
 τοὺς μὲν εὖ λέγειν ἐπιθυμοῦντας ψέγουσι, τοὺς δ' ὀρθῶς
 πράττειν βουλομένους ἐπαινοῦσιν· εἰ γὰρ αἱ πλεονεξίαι **b**
 λυποῦσιν αὐτούς, πλείους καὶ μείζους ἐκ τῶν ἔργων ἢ τῶν
 2 λόγων εὐρήσομεν γιγνομένας. ἔπειτα κακεῖν' ἄτοπον, εἰ
 λέληθεν αὐτοὺς ὅτι τὰ περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς εὖσεβοῦμεν καὶ τὴν
 δικαιοσύνην ἀσκοῦμεν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρετὰς ἐπιτηδεύομεν, 27
 οὐχ ἕνα τῶν ἄλλων ἔλαττον ἔχωμεν, ἀλλ' ὅπως ἂν ὥς μετὰ
 πλείστων ἀγαθῶν τὸν βίον διάγωμεν. ὥστ' οὐ κατηγορη-
 τέον τῶν πραγμάτων τούτων ἐστίν, δι' ὧν ἂν τις μετ' ἀρετῆς
 πλεονεκτήσκειν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν περὶ τὰς πράξεις
 ἐξαμαρτανόντων ἢ τοῖς λόγοις ἐξαπατώντων καὶ μὴ δικαίως
 3 χρωμένων αὐτοῖς. θαυμάζω δὲ τῶν ταύτην τὴν γνώμην **b**
 ἔχόντων, ὅπως οὐ καὶ τὸν πλοῦτον καὶ τὴν ῥώμην καὶ τὴν
 ἀνδρίαν κακῶς λέγουσιν. εἴπερ γὰρ διὰ τοὺς ἐξαμαρτάνοντας
 καὶ τοὺς ψευδομένους πρὸς τοὺς λόγους χαλεπῶς ἔχουσι,
 προσήκει καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀγαθοῖς αὐτοὺς ἐπιτιμᾶν· φανή-
 σονται γάρ τινες καὶ τῶν ταῦτα κεκτημένων ἐξαμαρτάνοντες
 4 καὶ πολλοὺς διὰ τούτων κακῶς ποιοῦντες. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ
 δίκαιον, οὗτ' εἴ τινες τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας τύπτουσι, τῆς ῥώμης **c**
 κατηγορεῖν, οὔτε διὰ τοὺς ἀποκτείνοντας οὓς οὐ δεῖ τὴν
 ἀνδρίαν λαιδορεῖν, οὔθ' ὅλως τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων πονηρίαν
 ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα μεταφέρειν, ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους ψέγειν,

- οἱ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς κακῶς χρώνται καὶ τοῖς ὠφελεῖν δυνα-
 μένοις τούτοις βλάπτειν τοὺς συμπολιτευομένους ἐπιχει-
 ροῦσιν. νῦν δ' ἀμελήσαντες τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον περὶ ἐκάστου 5
 διορίζεσθαι πρὸς ἅπαντας τοὺς λόγους δυσκόλως διακίευνται,
 καὶ τοσοῦτον διημαρτήκασιν ὥστ' οὐκ αἰσθάνονται τοιοῦτῳ
- d** πράγματι δυσμενῶς ἔχοντες, ὃ πάντων τῶν ἐνόντων ἐν τῇ
 τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσει πλείστων ἀγαθῶν αἰτιὸν ἐστίν. τοῖς
 μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοις οἷς ἔχομεν οὐδὲν τῶν ἄλλων ζώων δια-
 φέρομεν, ἀλλὰ πολλῶν καὶ τῷ τάχει καὶ τῇ ῥώμῃ καὶ ταῖς
 ἄλλαις εὐπορίαις καταδεέστεροι τυγχάνομεν ὄντες· ἐγγενο- 6
 μένου δ' ἡμῖν τοῦ πείθειν ἀλλήλους καὶ δηλοῦν πρὸς ἡμᾶς
 αὐτοὺς περὶ ὧν ἂν βουλευθῶμεν, οὐ μόνον τοῦ θηριωδῶς ζῆν
- e** ἀπηλλάγημεν ἀλλὰ καὶ συνελθόντες πόλεις ᾤκισαμεν καὶ
 νόμους ἐθέμεθα καὶ τέχνας εὔρομεν, καὶ σχεδὸν ἅπαντα τὰ
 δι' ἡμῶν μεμηχανημένα λόγος ἡμῖν ἐστὶν ὁ συγκατασκευάσας.
 οὗτος γὰρ περὶ τῶν δικαίων καὶ τῶν ἀδίκων καὶ τῶν καλῶν 7
 καὶ τῶν αἰσχυρῶν ἐνομοθέτησεν· ὧν μὴ διαταχθέντων οὐκ ἂν
- 28** οἰοί τ' ἦμεν οἰκεῖν μετ' ἀλλήλων. τούτῳ καὶ τοὺς κακοὺς
 ἐξελέγχομεν καὶ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἐγκωμιάζομεν. διὰ τούτου
 τοὺς τ' ἀνοήτους παιδεύομεν καὶ τοὺς φρονίμους δοκιμά-
 ζομεν· τὸ γὰρ λέγειν ὥς δεῖ τοῦ φρονεῖν εὔ μέγιστον σημεῖον
 ποιούμεθα, καὶ λόγος ἀληθῆς καὶ νόμιμος καὶ δίκαιος ψυχῆς
 ἀγαθῆς καὶ πιστῆς εἰδωλὸν ἐστίν. μετὰ τούτου καὶ περὶ 8
 τῶν ἀμφισβητησίμων ἀγωνιζόμεθα καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀγνοουμένων
- b** σκοπούμεθα· ταῖς γὰρ πίστεσιν, αἷς τοὺς ἄλλους λέγοντες
 πείθομεν, ταῖς αὐταῖς ταύταις βουλευόμενοι χρώμεθα, καὶ
 ῥητορικοὺς μὲν καλοῦμεν τοὺς ἐν τῷ πλήθει λέγειν δυνα-
 μένους, εὐβούλους δὲ νομίζομεν, οἵτινες ἂν αὐτοὶ πρὸς αὐ-
 τοὺς ἄριστα περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων διαλεχθῶσιν. εἰ δὲ δεῖ 9
 συλλήβδην περὶ τῆς δυνάμεως ταύτης εἰπεῖν, οὐδὲν τῶν
- c** φρονίμως πραττομένων εὐρήσομεν ἀλόγως γιγνόμενον, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ τῶν ἔργων καὶ τῶν διανοημάτων ἀπάντων ἡγεμόνα λόγον
 ὄντα, καὶ μάλιστα χρωμένους αὐτῷ τοὺς πλείστον νοῦν ἔχον-

τας· ὥστε τοὺς τολμῶντας βλασφημεῖν περὶ τῶν παιδευόντων καὶ φιλοσοφούντων ὁμοίως ἄξιον μισεῖν ὥσπερ τοὺς εἰς τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐξαμαρτάνοντας.

- 10 Ἐγὼ δ' ἀποδέχομαι μὲν ἅπαντας τοὺς λόγους τοὺς καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν ἡμᾶς ὠφελεῖν δυναμένους, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καλλίστους d ἡγοῦμαι καὶ βασιλικωτάτους καὶ μάλιστα πρέποντας ἐμοὶ τοὺς περὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων καὶ τῶν πολιτειῶν παραινοῦντας, καὶ τούτων αὐτῶν ὅσοι διδάσκουσι τοὺς τε δυναστεύοντας, ὥς δεῖ τῷ πλήθει χρῆσθαι, καὶ τοὺς ιδιώτας, ὥς χρὴ πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας διακεῖσθαι· διὰ γὰρ τούτων ὀρῶ τὰς πόλεις
- 11 εὐδαιμονεστάτας καὶ μεγίστας γιγνομένας. τὸν μὲν οὖν ἕτερον, ὥς χρὴ τυραννεῖν, Ἰσοκράτους ἠκούσατε, τὸν δ' ἐχόμενον, ἃ δεῖ ποιεῖν τοὺς ἀρχομένους, ἐγὼ πειράσσομαι διελθεῖν, e οὐχ ὥς ἐκείνον ὑπερβαλούμενος, ἀλλ' ὥς προσήκόν μοι περὶ τούτων μάλιστα διαλεχθῆναι πρὸς ὑμᾶς. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐμοῦ μὴ δηλώσαντος ἃ βούλομαι ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς διαμάρτοίτε τῆς 29 ἐμῆς γνώμης, οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως ὑμῖν ὀργιζοίμην· εἰ δὲ προειπόντος ἐμοῦ μηδὲν γίγνοιτο τούτων, δικαίως ἂν ἤδη τοῖς μὴ
- 12 πειθομένοις μεμφοίμην. ἡγοῦμαι δ' οὕτως ἂν μάλιστα παρακαλέσαι καὶ προτρέψαι πρὸς τὸ μνημονεύειν ὑμᾶς τὰ ρηθέντα καὶ πειθαρχεῖν αὐτοῖς, οὐκ εἰ περὶ τὸ συμβουλευεῖν μόνον γενοίμην καὶ ταῦτ' ἀπαριθμήσας ἀπαλλαγείην, ἀλλ' εἰ προεπιδείξαιμι πρῶτον μὲν τὴν πολιτείαν τὴν παροῦσαν ὥς ἄξιόν b ἐστὶν ἀγαπᾶν οὐ μόνον διὰ τὴν ἀνάγκην, οὐδ' ὅτι πάντα τὸν χρόνον μετὰ ταύτης οἰκοῦμεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι βελτίστη τῶν
- 13 πολιτειῶν ἐστίν, ἔπειθ' ὥς ἐγὼ ταύτην ἔχω τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐ παρανόμως οὐδ' ἄλλοτριαν ἀλλ' ὁσίως καὶ δικαίως καὶ διὰ τοὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς προγόνους καὶ διὰ τὸν πατέρα καὶ δι' ἐμαντόν. τούτων γὰρ προαποδειχθέντων τίς οὐκ αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ κατα- c γνώσεται τὴν μεγίστην ζημίαν, ἂν μὴ πειθαρχῇ τοῖς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ συμβουλευθεῖσι καὶ προσταχθεῖσιν;
- 14 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν πολιτειῶν, ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ ὑποτιθέμενος ἡρξάμην, οἶμαι πᾶσι δοκεῖν δεινότατον μὲν εἶναι τὸ τῶν

- αὐτῶν ἀξιοῦσθαι τοὺς χρηστοὺς καὶ τοὺς πονηροὺς, δικαιο-
 τaton δὲ τὸ διωρίσθαι περὶ τούτων καὶ μὴ τοὺς ἀνομοίους
 d τῶν ὁμοίων τυγχάνειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πράττειν καὶ τιμᾶσθαι κατὰ
 τὴν ἀξίαν ἐκάστους. αἱ μὲν τοίνυν ὀλιγαρχίαι καὶ δημο- 15
 κραταὶ τὰς ἰσότητας τοῖς μετέχουσιν τῶν πολιτειῶν ζητοῦσι,
 καὶ τοῦτ' εὐδοκιμεῖ παρ' αὐταῖς, ἣν μηδὲν ἕτερος ἑτέρου
 δύνηται πλέον ἔχειν· ὃ τοῖς πονηροῖς συμφέρον ἐστίν· αἱ
 δὲ μοναρχίαι πλείστον μὲν νέμονται τῷ βελτίστῳ, δευτέρῳ
 δὲ τῷ μετ' ἐκείνῳ, τρίτῳ δὲ καὶ τετάρτῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις κατὰ
 τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον. καὶ ταῦτ' εἰ μὴ πανταχοῦ καθέστηκεν,
 e ἀλλὰ τό γε βούλημα τῆς πολιτείας τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν. καὶ 16
 μὲν δὴ διορᾶν καὶ τὰς φύσεις τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὰς πράξεις
 ἅπαντες ἂν τὰς τυραννίδας μᾶλλον ὁμολογήσειαν. καίτοι
 τίς οὐκ ἂν δέξαιτο τῶν εὖ φρονούντων τοιαύτης πολιτείας
 30 μετέχειν, ἐν ᾗ μὴ διαλήσει χρηστὸς ὢν, μᾶλλον ἢ φέρεσθαι
 μετὰ τοῦ πλήθους μὴ γινωσκόμενος ὁποῖός τις ἐστιν; ἀλλὰ
 μὴν καὶ πραοτέραν τοσοῦτ' ἀδικίᾳ ἂν αὐτὴν εἶναι κρίναίμεν,
 ὅσῳ περ ῥᾶόν ἐστιν ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς γνώμη προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν
 μᾶλλον ἢ πολλαῖς καὶ παντοδαπαῖς διανοαῖς ζητεῖν ἀρέ-
 σκειν. ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἡδίων ἐστὶ καὶ πραοτέρα καὶ δικαιοτέρα, 17
 b διὰ πλειόνων μὲν ἂν τις ἀποδείξειεν, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ
 τούτων συνιδεῖν ῥᾶδιόν ἐστι· περὶ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν, ὅσον αἱ
 μοναρχίαι πρὸς τὸ βουλευέσθαι καὶ πράξαι τι τῶν δεόντων
 διαφέρουσιν, οὕτως ἂν κάλλιστα θεωρήσαιμεν, εἰ τὰς με-
 γίστας τῶν πράξεων παρ' ἀλλήλας τιθέντες ἐξετάξωμεν ἐπι-
 χειρήσαιμεν αὐτάς. οἱ μὲν τοίνυν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν εἰς τὰς
 ἀρχὰς εἰσιόντες πρότερον ἰδιῶται γίνονται, πρὶν αἰσθῆσθαι
 c τι τῶν τῆς πόλεως καὶ λαβεῖν ἐμπειρίαν αὐτῶν· οἱ δ' αἰὲ 18
 τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπιστατοῦντες, ἣν καὶ τὴν φύσιν καταδεεστέραν
 ἔχωσιν, ἀλλ' οὖν ταῖς γ' ἐμπειρίαις πολλὸν τῶν ἄλλων προέ-
 χουσιν. ἔπειθ' οἱ μὲν πολλῶν καταμελοῦσιν εἰς ἀλλήλους
 ἀποβλέποντες, οἱ δ' οὐδενὸς ὀλιγωροῦσιν, εἰδότες ὅτι πάντα
 δεῖ δι' αὐτῶν γίνεσθαι. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις οἱ μὲν ἐν ταῖς

- ὀλιγαρχίαις καὶ ταῖς δημοκρατίαις διὰ τὰς πρὸς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς
φιλοτιμίας λυμαίνονται τοῖς κοινοῖς· οἱ δ' ἐν ταῖς μοναρχίαις
ὄντες, οὐκ ἔχοντες ὅτῳ φθονήσουσι, πάντων ὡς οἶόν τ' ἐστὶ **d**
- 19 τὰ βέλτιστα πράττουσιν. ἔπειθ' οἱ μὲν ὑπερέβησαν τῶν
πραγμάτων· τὸν μὲν γὰρ πλείστον χρόνον ἐπὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις
διατρίβουσιν, ἐπειδὴν δ' εἰς τὰ συνέδρια συνέλθωσιν, πλεον-
άκεις ἢ τις αὐτοὺς εὖροι διαφορομένους ἢ κοινῇ βουλευο-
μένους· οἱ δ' οὔτε συνεδρίων οὔτε χρόνων αὐτοῖς ἀποδεδει-
γμένων ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἡμέρας καὶ τὰς νύκτας ἐπὶ ταῖς πρά-
ξεσιν ὄντες οὐκ ἀπολείπονται τῶν καιρῶν, ἀλλ' ἕκαστον ἐν **e**
- 20 τῷ δέοντι πράττουσιν. ἔτι δ' οἱ μὲν δυσμενῶς ἔχουσι, καὶ
βούλονται ἂν καὶ τοὺς πρὸ αὐτῶν ἄρχοντας καὶ τοὺς ἐφ'
αὐτοῖς ὡς κάκιστα διοικῆσαι τὴν πόλιν, ἢ ὡς μεγίστην
δόξαν αὐτοὶ λάβωσιν· οἱ δὲ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ βίου κύριοι τῶν **31**
πραγμάτων ὄντες εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον καὶ τὰς εὐνοίας
- 21 ἔχουσιν. τὸ δὲ μέγιστον· τοῖς γὰρ κοινοῖς οἱ μὲν ὡς ἰδίοις,
οἱ δ' ὡς ἄλλοτρίοις προσέχουσιν τὸν νοῦν, καὶ συμβούλοις
χρῶνται περὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν τῶν ἀστών τοῖς τολμηροτάτοις,
οἱ δ' ἐξ ἀπάντων ἐκλεξάμενοι τοῖς φρονιμωτάτοις, καὶ τιμῶσιν
οἱ μὲν τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὄχλοις εἰπεῖν δυναμένους, οἱ δὲ τοὺς
- 22 χρῆσθαι τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐπισταμένους. οὐ μόνον δ' ἐν τοῖς **b**
ἐγκυκλίοις καὶ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκάστην γιγνομένοις
αἱ μοναρχίαι διαφέρουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ πλεον-
εξίας ἀπάσας περιειλήφασιν. καὶ γὰρ παρασκευάσασθαι
δυνάμεις καὶ χρήσασθαι ταύταις ὥστε καὶ λαθεῖν καὶ φθῆναι,
καὶ τοὺς μὲν πείσαι, τοὺς δὲ βιάσασθαι, παρὰ δὲ τῶν
ἐκπρίασθαι, τοὺς δὲ ταῖς ἄλλαις θεραπαλαῖς προσαγαγέσθαι
μᾶλλον αἱ τυραννίδες τῶν ἄλλων πολιτειῶν οἶαί τ' εἰσίν.
καὶ ταῦτ' ἐκ τῶν ἔργων ἂν τις οὐχ ἦττον ἢ τῶν λόγων **c**
- 23 πιστεύσειεν. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ τὴν τῶν Περσῶν δύναμιν
ἅπαντες ἴσμεν τηλικαύτην τὸ μέγεθος γεγεννημένην οὐ διὰ
τὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν φρόνησιν, ἀλλ' ὅτι μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων τὴν
βασιλείαν τιμῶσι· τοῦτο δὲ Διονύσιον τὸν τύραννον, ὅτι

- παραλαβὼν τὴν μὲν ἄλλην Σικελίαν ἀνάστατον γεγενημένην,
 τὴν δ' αὐτοῦ πατρίδα πολιορκουμένην, οὐ μόνον αὐτὴν τῶν
 d παρόντων κινδύνων ἀπήλλαξεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μεγίστην τῶν
 Ἑλληνίδων πόλεωv ἐποίησεν· ἔτι δὲ Ἰαρχηδονίους καὶ 24
 Λακεδαιμονίους, τοὺς ἄριστα τῶν ἄλλων πολιτενομένους,
 οἵκοι μὲν ὀλιγαρχουμένους, παρὰ δὲ τὸν πόλεμον βασιλευ-
 μένους. ἔχει δ' ἂν τις ἐπιδείξαι καὶ τὴν πόλιν τὴν μάλιστα
 τὰς τυραννίδας μισοῦσαν, ὅταν μὲν πολλοὺς ἐκπέμψῃ στρατη-
 γοὺς, ἀτυχοῦσαν, ὅταν δὲ δι' ἐνὸς ποιήσῃται τοὺς κινδύνους,
 e κατορθοῦσαν. καίτοι πῶς ἂν τις σαφέστερον ἐπιδείξειεν 25
 ἢ διὰ τοιούτων παραδειγμάτων πλείστου τὰς μοναρχίας ἀξίας
 οὔσας; φαίνονται γὰρ οἱ τε διὰ τέλους τυραννεύόμενοι με-
 32 γίστας δυνάμεις ἔχοντες, οἱ τε καλῶς ὀλιγαρχοῦμενοι, περὶ
 ἃ μάλιστα σπουδάζουσιν, οἱ μὲν ἕνα μόνον στρατηγόν, οἱ
 δὲ βασιλέα τῶν στρατοπέδων κύριον καθιστάντες, οἱ τε
 μισοῦντες τὰς τυραννίδας, ὁπότεν πολλοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐκ-
 πέμψωσιν, οὐδὲν τῶν δεόντων πράττοντες. εἰ δὲ δεῖ τι καὶ 26
 τῶν ἀρχαίων εἰπεῖν, λέγεται καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ὑπὸ Διὸς βασι-
 λεύεσθαι. περὶ ὧν εἰ μὲν ἀληθὴς ὁ λόγος ἐστί, δῆλον ὅτι
 b κακεῖνοι ταύτην τὴν κατάστασιν προκρίνουσιν, εἰ δὲ τὸ μὲν
 σαφὲς μηδεὶς οἶδεν, αὐτοὶ δ' εἰκάζοντες οὕτω περὶ αὐτῶν
 ὑπειλήφμεν, σημείουν ὅτι πάντες τὴν μοναρχίαν προτιμῶμεν·
 οὐ γὰρ ἂν ποτ' αὐτῇ χρῆσθαι τοὺς θεοὺς ἔφαμεν, εἰ μὴ πολὺ
 τῶν ἄλλων αὐτὴν προέχειν ἐνομίζομεν.

Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν πολιτειῶν, ὅσον ἀλλήλων διαφέρουσιν, 27
 ἅπαντα μὲν οὐθ' εὐρεῖν οὐτ' εἰπεῖν δυνατόν ἐστιν· οὐ μὴν
 ἀλλὰ πρὸς γε τὸ παρὸν ἀποχρώντως καὶ νῦν ἔρηται περὶ
 c αὐτῶν. ὥς δὲ προσηκόντως τὴν ἀρχὴν ἡμεῖς ἔχομεν, πολλὸ
 τούτου συντομώτερος καὶ μᾶλλον ὁμολογούμενος ὁ λόγος
 ἐστίν. τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι Τεϋκρὸς μὲν ὁ τοῦ γένους 28
 ἡμῶν ἀρχηγός, παραλαβὼν τοὺς τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν προ-
 γόνους, πλεύσας δεῦρο καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῖς ἔκτισε καὶ τὴν
 χώραν κατένειμεν, ὁ δὲ πατὴρ Εὐαγόρας ἀπολεσάντων ἐτέρων

τὴν ἀρχὴν πάλιν ἀνέλαβεν, ὑποστὰς τοὺς μεγίστους κινδύνους, καὶ τοσοῦτον μετέστησεν ὥστε μηκέτι Φοίνικας Σαλαμίνων τυραννεῖν, ἀλλ' ὦν περ ἦν τὴν ἀρχήν, τούτους καὶ νῦν ἔχειν τὴν βασιλείαν;

29 Λοιπὸν οὖν ἐστὶν ὦν προεθέμην περὶ ἔμαντοῦ διελθεῖν, ἵν' ἐπίστησθ' ὅτι τοιοῦτός ἐστιν ὑμῶν ὁ βασιλεύων, ὃς οὐ μόνον διὰ τοὺς προγόνους ἀλλὰ καὶ δι' ἔμαντὸν δικαίως ἂν καὶ μείζονος τιμῆς ἢ τηλικαύτης ἡξιώθην. οἶμαι γὰρ ἐγὼ πάντας ἂν ὁμολογήσαι πλείστου τῶν ἀρετῶν ἀξίας εἶναι τήν
30 τε σωφροσύνην καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην. οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἡμᾶς e τὸ καθ' αὐτὰς ὠφελοῦσιν, ἀλλ' εἰ θέλομεν σκοπεῖν καὶ τὰς φύσεις καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις καὶ τὰς χρήσεις τῶν πραγμάτων, εὐρήσομεν τὰς μὲν μὴ μετεχούσας τούτων τῶν ἰδεῶν μεγάλων κακῶν αἰτίας οὕσας, τὰς δὲ μετὰ δικαιοσύνης καὶ σωφρο- 33 σύνης γιγνομένας πολλὰ τὸν βίον τὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὠφελοῦσας. εἰ δὴ τιwes τῶν προγεγενημένων ἐπὶ ταύταις ταῖς ἀρεταῖς εὐδοκίμησαν, ἡγοῦμαι κάμοι προσήκειν τῆς αὐτῆς δόξης ἐκείνοις τυγχάνειν.

31 Τὴν μὲν οὖν δικαιοσύνην ἐκείθεν ἂν μάλιστα κατῖδοιτε. παραλαβὼν γάρ, ὅτ' εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν καθιστάμην, τὰ μὲν βασιλεία χρημάτων κενὰ καὶ πάντα κατηναλωμένα, τὰ δὲ b πράγματα ταραχῆς μεστὰ καὶ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας δεόμενα καὶ φυλακῆς καὶ δαπάνης, εἰδὼς ἑτέρους ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις καιροῖς ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου τὰ σφέτερ' αὐτῶν διορθουμένους καὶ πολλὰ παρὰ τὴν φύσιν τὴν αὐτῶν πράττειν ἀναγκαζο-
32 μένους, ὅμως οὐδ' ὑφ' ἐνὸς τούτων διεφθάρην, ἀλλ' οὕτως ὁσίως καὶ καλῶς ἐπεμελήθην τῶν πραγμάτων ὥστε μηδὲν ἐλλείπειν, ἐξ ὧν οἶόν τ' ἦν αὐξηθῆναι καὶ πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν ἐπιδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν. πρὸς τε γὰρ τοὺς πολίτας μετὰ c τοιαύτης πραότητος προσηνέχθην ὥστε μήτε φυγὰς μήτε θανάτους μήτε χρημάτων ἀποβολὰς μήτ' ἄλλην μηδεμίαν τοιαύτην συμφορὰν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμῆς γεγενῆσθαι βασιλείας.
33 ἀβάτου δὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἡμῖν οὔσης διὰ τὸν πόλεμον τὸν

- γεγεννημένον, καὶ πανταχῇ συλωμένων ἡμῶν, τὰ πλείστα
 τούτων διέλυσα, τοῖς μὲν ἅπαντ' ἀποτίνων, τοῖς δὲ μέρη,
 d τῶν δ' ἀναβαλέσθαι δεόμενος, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ὅπως ἡδυνάμην
 περὶ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων διαλλαττόμενος. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῶν τὴν
 νῆσον οἰκούντων δυσκόλως πρὸς ἡμᾶς διακειμένων, καὶ βα-
 σιλέως τῷ μὲν λόγῳ διηλλαγμένου, τῇ δ' ἀληθείᾳ τραχέως
 ἔχοντος, ἀμφοτέρω ταῦτα κατεπράϋνα, τῷ μὲν προθύμως 34
 ὑπηρετῶν, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς δίκαιον ἔμμετον παρέχων. τοσούτου
 γὰρ δέω τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐπιθυμῶν, ὥσθ' ἕτεροι μὲν, ἦν καὶ
 e μικρῷ μείζω τῶν ὁμόρων δυνάμιν ἔχουσιν, ἀποτέμνονται τῆς
 γῆς καὶ πλεονεκτεῖν ζητοῦσιν, ἐγὼ δ' οὐδὲ τὴν διδομένην
 χώραν ἡξίωσα λαβεῖν, ἀλλ' αἰροῦμαι μετὰ δικαιοσύνης τὴν
 ἔμμετον μόνον ἔχειν μᾶλλον ἢ μετὰ κακίας πολλαπλασίαν
 34 τῆς ὑπαρχούσης κτήσασθαι. καὶ τί δεῖ καθ' ἐν ἑκαστον 35
 λέγοντα διατρίβειν, ἄλλως τε καὶ συντόμως ἔχοντα δηλῶσαι
 περὶ ἔμμετου; φανήσομαι γὰρ οὐδένα μὲν πώποτ' ἀδικήσας,
 πλείους δὲ καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων εὖ
 πεποιηκῶς καὶ μείζονος δωρεᾶς ἐκατέρωθεν δεδοκῶς ἢ σύμ-
 παντες οἱ πρὸ ἐμοῦ βασιλεύσαντες. καίτοι χρὴ τοὺς μέγα
 φρονούντας ἐπὶ δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ προσποιουμένους χρημάτων
 b εἶναι κρείττους τοιαύτας ὑπερβολὰς ἔχειν εἰπεῖν περὶ αὐτῶν.
 Καὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ περὶ σωφροσύνης ἔτι μείζω τούτων ἔχω 36
 διελθεῖν. εἰδὼς γὰρ ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους περὶ πλείστου
 ποιουμένους τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας, καὶ
 μάλιστα ὀργιζομένους τοῖς εἰς ταῦτ' ἐξαμαρτάνουσι, καὶ τὴν
 ὕβριν τὴν περὶ ταῦτα μεγίστων κακῶν αἰτίαν γιγνομένην,
 καὶ πολλοὺς ἤδη καὶ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν καὶ τῶν δυναστευσάντων
 c διὰ ταύτην ἀπολομένους, ἔφυγον τὰς αἰτίας ταύτας, οὐκ 37
 ἀγνοῶν ὅτι κάκεῖνοι παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς εὐδοκίμοισιν, ὅσοι
 περὶ μὲν τὰ τῶν πολιτῶν δίκαιοι τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες, ἄλλοθεν
 δὲ ποθεν αὐτοῖς ἐπορίσαντο τὰς ἡδονάς, ἀλλὰ βουλόμενος
 ἅμα μὲν ἔμμετον ὡς πορρωτάτω ποιῆσαι τῶν τοιούτων ὑπο-
 ψιῶν, ἅμα δὲ παράδειγμα καταστήσαι τὸν τρόπον τὸν ἔμμετον

τοῖς ἄλλοις πολίταις, γινώσκων ὅτι φιλεῖ τὸ πλῆθος ἐν d
τούτοις τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασι τὸν βίον διάγειν, ἐν οἷς ἂν τοὺς
38 ἄρχοντας τοὺς αὐτῶν ὀρώσι διατρίβοντας. ἔπειτα καὶ προσ-
ήκειν ἡγησάμην τοσοῦτ' ὅτι τοὺς βασιλεῖς βελτίους εἶναι τῶν
ιδιωτῶν, ὅσῳ περ καὶ τὰς τιμὰς μείζους αὐτῶν ἔχουσι, καὶ
δευνὰ ποιεῖν, ὅσοι τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους κοσμίως ζῆν ἀναγκά-
ζουσιν, αὐτοὶ δ' αὐτοὺς μὴ σωφρονεστέρους τῶν ἀρχομένων
39 παρέχουσιν. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τῶν μὲν ἄλλων πράξεων e
ἐώρων ἐγκρατεῖς τοὺς πολλοὺς γιγνομένους, τῶν δ' ἐπιθυ-
μιῶν καὶ τοὺς βελτίστους ἡττωμένους· ἡβουλήθη οὖν ἐν
τούτοις ἐμavτὸν ἐπιδείξαι καρτερεῖν δυνάμενον, ἐν οἷς ἤμελλον
οὐ μόνον τῶν ἄλλων διοίσειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐπ' ἀρετῇ μέγα 35
40 φρονούντων. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῶν τοιούτων πολλὴν κακίαν κατε-
γίνωσκον, ὅσοι γυναῖκας λαβόντες καὶ κοινωνίαν ποιησά-
μενοι παντὸς τοῦ βίου μὴ στέργουσιν οἷς ἔπραξαν, ἀλλὰ
ταῖς αὐτῶν ἡδοναῖς λυποῦσι ταύτας, ὅς ὦν αὐτοὶ μὴδὲν
ἀξιοῦσι λυπεῖσθαι, καὶ περὶ μὲν ἄλλας τινας κοινωνίας
ἐπικεικὶς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς παρέχουσιν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς πρὸς τὰς
γυναῖκας ἐξαμαρτάνουσιν· ἃς ἔδει τοσοῦτ' ὅτι μᾶλλον δια-
φυλάττειν, ὅσῳ περ οἰκειότεραι καὶ μείζους οὖσαι τῶν ἄλλων b
41 τυγχάνουσιν. εἴτα λανθάνουσιν ἔνδον ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις
στάσεις καὶ διαφορὰς αὐτοῖς ἐγκαταλείποντες. καίτοι χρὴ
τοὺς ὀρθῶς βασιλεύοντας μὴ μόνον τὰς πόλεις ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ
πειρᾶσθαι διάγειν, ὦν ἂν ἄρχωσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς οἴκους
τοὺς ἰδίους καὶ τοὺς τόπους, ἐν οἷς ἂν κατοικῶσιν· ἅπαντα
42 γὰρ ταῦτα σωφροσύνης ἔργα καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἐστίν. οὐ τὴν
αὐτὴν δὲ γνώμην ἔσχον οὐδὲ περὶ τῆς παιδοποιίας τοῖς
πλείστοις τῶν βασιλέων, οὐδ' ὥθήθη δεῖν τοὺς μὲν ἐκ ταπει- c
νοτέρας ποιήσασθαι τῶν παίδων, τοὺς δ' ἐκ σεμνοτέρας, οὐδὲ
τοὺς μὲν νόθους αὐτῶν, τοὺς δὲ γνησίους καταλιπεῖν, ἀλλὰ
πάντας ἔχειν τὴν αὐτὴν φύσιν καὶ πρὸς πατρός καὶ πρὸς
μητρός ἀνευεγκεῖν, τῶν μὲν θνητῶν εἰς Εὐαγόραν τὸν πατέρα,
τῶν δ' ἡμιθέων εἰς Αἰακίδας, τῶν δὲ θεῶν εἰς Δία, καὶ

d μηδένα τῶν ἐξ ἐμοῦ γενομένων ἀποστερηθῆναι ταύτης τῆς εὐγενείας.

Πολλῶν δέ με προτρεπόντων ἐμμένειν τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασι **43**
 τούτοις, οὐχ ἥκιστα κἀκεῖνο παρεκάλεσεν, ὅτι τῆς μὲν ἀνδρίας
 καὶ τῆς δεινότητος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν εὐδοκιμούντων ἐώρων
 καὶ τῶν κακῶν ἀνδρῶν πολλοὺς μετέχοντας, τὴν δὲ δικαιο-
 σύνην καὶ σωφροσύνην ἴδια κτήματα τῶν καλῶν κἀγαθῶν
 ὄντα. κάλλιστον οὖν ὑπέλαβον, εἴ τις δύναιτο ταύταις ταῖς
e ἀρεταῖς προέχειν τῶν ἄλλων, ὧν οὐδὲν μέρος τοῖς πονηροῖς
 μέτεστιν, ἀλλὰ γνησιώταται καὶ βεβαιόταται καὶ μεγίστων
 ἐπαίνων ἄξιαι τυγχάνουσιν οὔσαι. τούτων ἔνεκα καὶ ταῦτα **44**
 διανοηθεὶς περιττοτέρως τῶν ἄλλων ἡσκήσα τὴν σωφρο-
36 σύνην καὶ προειλόμην τῶν ἡδονῶν οὐ τὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις
 τοῖς μηδεμίαν τιμὴν ἔχουσιν, ἀλλὰ τὰς ἐπὶ ταῖς δόξαις ταῖς
 δι' ἀνδραγαθίαν γιγνομένας. χρὴ δὲ δοκιμάζειν τὰς ἀρετὰς
 οὐκ ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς ἰδέαις ἀπάσας, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν δικαιοσύνην
 ἐν ταῖς ἀπορίαις, τὴν δὲ σωφροσύνην ἐν ταῖς δυναστείαις,
 τὴν δ' ἐγκράτειαν ἐν ταῖς τῶν νεωτέρων ἡλικίαις. ἐγὼ **45**
 τοίνυν ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς καιροῖς φανήσομαι πείραν τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ
b φύσεως δεδωκώς. ἐνδεὴς μὲν γε χρημάτων καταλειφθεὶς
 οὕτω δίκαιον ἐμαυτὸν παρέσχον ὥστε μηδένα λυπῆσαι τῶν
 πολιτῶν· λαβὼν δ' ἐξουσίαν ὥστε ποιεῖν ὅ τι ἂν βούλωμαι,
 σωφρονέστερος τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ἐγενόμην· τούτων δ' ἀμφοτέρων
 ἐκράτησα ταύτην ἔχων τὴν ἡλικίαν, ἐν ἣ τοὺς πλείστους ἂν
 εὖροιμεν πλείστα περὶ τὰς πράξεις ἐξαμαρτάνοντας. καὶ **46**
 ταῦτ' ἐν ἑτέροις μὲν ἴσως ἂν ὥκνουν εἰπεῖν, οὐχ ὥς οὐ
c φιλοτιμούμενος ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις, ἀλλ' ὥς οὐκ ἂν πι-
 στευθεὶς ἐκ τῶν λεγομένων· ὑμεῖς δ' αὐτοὶ μοι μάρτυρές
 ἐστε πάντων τῶν εἰρημένων. ἄξιον μὲν οὖν καὶ τοὺς φύσει
 κοσμίους ὄντας ἐπαινεῖν καὶ θαυμάζειν, ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον τοὺς
 καὶ μετὰ λογισμοῦ τοιούτους ὄντας· οἱ μὲν γὰρ τύχῃ καὶ μὴ **47**
 γνώμῃ σωφρονοῦντες τυχὸν ἂν καὶ μεταπεισθεῖεν· οἱ δὲ
 πρὸς τῷ πεφυκέναι καὶ διεγνωκότες ὅτι μέγιστόν ἐστι τῶν

ἀγαθὼν ἀρετῇ, δῆλον ὅτι πάντα τὸν βίον ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ τάξει d
διαμενοῦσιν. διὰ τοῦτο δὲ πλείους ἐποισάμην τοὺς λόγους
καὶ περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν προειρημένων,
ἵνα μηδεμίαν ὑπολίπω πρόφασιν, ὥς οὐ δεῖ ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς
ἐκόντας καὶ προθύμως ἅττ' ἂν ἐγὼ συμβουλεύσω καὶ προσ-
τάξω.

- 48 Φημὶ δὲ χρῆναι πράττειν ἕκαστον ὑμῶν ἐφ' οἷς ἐφέ-
στηκεν ἐπιμελῶς καὶ δικαίως· καθ' ὅποτερον γὰρ ἂν ἐλλί-
πητε τούτων, ἀνάγκη κακῶς σχεῖν ταύτῃ τὰς πράξεις. μη- e
δενὸς ὀλιγοῦρετε μηδὲ καταφρονεῖτε τῶν προστεταγμένων,
ὑπολαμβάνοντες ὥς οὐ παρὰ τοῦτ' ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ὥς παρ'
ἕκαστον τῶν μερῶν ἢ καλῶς ἢ κακῶς τὸ σύμπαν ἔξω, οὕτω
- 49 σπουδάζετε περὶ αὐτῶν. κήδεσθε μηδὲν ἥττον τῶν ἐμῶν 37
ἢ τῶν ὑμετέρων αὐτῶν, καὶ μὴ νομίζετε μικρὸν ἀγαθὸν εἶναι
τὰς τιμὰς, ἃς ἔχουσιν οἱ καλῶς τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐπιστατοῦντες.
ἀπέχεσθε τῶν ἀλλοτρίων, ἵν' ἀσφαλέστερον τοὺς οἴκους τοὺς
ὑμετέρους αὐτῶν κεκτῇσθε. τοιούτους εἶναι χρὴ περὶ τοὺς
- 50 ἄλλους, οἷόν περ ἐμὲ περὶ ὑμᾶς ἀξιοῦτε γίγνεσθαι. μὴ
σπεύδετε πλουτεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ χρηστοὶ δοκεῖν εἶναι, γινώ-
σκοντες ὅτι καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ μεγί- b
στας ἐπ' ἀρετῇ δόξας ἔχοντες πλείστων ἀγαθῶν δεσπόται
καθίστανται. τοὺς χρηματισμοὺς τοὺς παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον
γιγνομένους ἡγείσθε μὴ πλοῦτον ἀλλὰ κίνδυνον ποιήσιν.
μὴ τὸ μὲν λαβεῖν κέρδος εἶναι νομίζετε, τὸ δ' ἀναλῶσαι
ζημίαν· οὐδέτερον γὰρ τούτων ἀεὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει δύναμιν,
ἀλλ' ὅποτερον ἂν ἐν καιρῷ καὶ μετ' ἀρετῆς γίγνηται, τοῦτ'
- 51 ὠφελεῖ τοὺς ποιοῦντας. μηδὲ πρὸς ἐν χαλεπῶς ἔχετε τῶν c
ὑπ' ἐμοῦ προσταττομένων· ὅσοι γὰρ ἂν ὑμῶν περὶ πλείστα
τῶν ἐμῶν χρησίμους αὐτοὺς παράσχωσιν, οὗτοι πλείστα τοὺς
οἴκους τοὺς αὐτῶν ὠφελήσουσιν. ὃ τι ἂν ὑμῶν ἕκαστος
αὐτὸς αὐτῷ τύχῃ συνειδώς, ἡγείσθω μηδ' ἐμὲ λήσιν, ἀλλὰ
ἐὰν καὶ τὸ σῶμα μὴ παρῇ, τὴν γε διάνοιαν τὴν ἐμὴν οἰέσθω
τοῖς γιγνομένοις παρεστάναι· ταύτην γὰρ τὴν γνώμην ἔχοντες d

σωφρονέστερον βουλευέσθε περὶ πάντων. μηδὲν ἀποκρύ- 52
 πτεσθε μήθ' ὦν κέκτησθε μήθ' ὦν ποιείτε μήθ' ὦν μέλλετε
 πράττειν, εἰδότες ὅτι περὶ τὰ κεκρυμμένα τῶν πραγμάτων
 ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι πολλοὺς φόβους γίνεσθαι. μὴ τεχνικῶς
 ζητεῖτε πολιτεύεσθαι μηδ' ἀφανῶς ἀλλ' οὕτως ἀπλῶς καὶ
 φανερώς ὥστε μηδ' ἂν τις βούληται ῥάδιον ὑμᾶς εἶναι δια-
 e βαλεῖν. δοκιμάζετε τὰς πράξεις, καὶ νομίζετε πονηρὰς μὲν,
 ἅς πράττοντες λανθάνειν ἐμὲ βούλεσθε, χρηστὰς δέ, περὶ
 ὧν ἐγὼ μέλλω πυθόμενος βελτίους ὑμᾶς νομιεῖν. μὴ κατα- 53
 σιωπᾶτ' ἂν τινες ὁρᾶτε περὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν ἐμὴν πονηροὺς
 ὄντας, ἀλλ' ἐξελέγχετε καὶ νομίζετε τῆς αὐτῆς ζημίας ἀξίους
 38 εἶναι τοὺς συγκρύπτοντας τοῖς ἀμαρτάνουσιν. εὐτυχεῖν νομί-
 ζετε μὴ τοὺς λανθάνοντας, ἂν τι κακὸν ποιήσωσιν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς
 μηδὲν ἐξαμαρτάνοντας· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ εἰκὸς τοιαῦτα παθεῖν,
 οἷά περ αὐτοὶ ποιούσι, τοὺς δὲ χάριω ἀπολαβεῖν, ἧς ἄξιοι
 τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες. ἐταιρείας μὴ ποιείσθε μηδὲ συνόδους 54
 ἄνευ τῆς ἐμῆς γνώμης· αἱ γὰρ τοιαῦται συστάσεις ἐν μὲν
 ταῖς ἄλλαις πολιτείαις πλεονεκτοῦσιν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς μοναρχίαις
 b κινδυνεύουσιν. μὴ μόνον ἀπέχεσθε τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων ἀλλὰ
 c καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων τῶν τοιούτων ἐν οἷς ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν
 ὑποψίαν ἐγγίγνεσθαι. τὴν ἐμὴν φιλίαν ἀσφαλεστάτην καὶ
 βεβαιωτάτην εἶναι νομίζετε. διαφυλάττετε τὴν παρούσαν 55
 κατάστασιν, καὶ μηδεμιᾶς ἐπιθυμεῖτε μεταβολῆς, εἰδότες ὅτι
 διὰ τὰς ταραχὰς ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἀπόλλυσθαι
 καὶ τοὺς οἴκους τοὺς ἰδίους ἀναστάτους γίνεσθαι. μὴ μόνον
 c τὰς φύσεις αἰτίας νομίζετε τοῦ χαλεποὺς ἢ πραοτέρους εἶναι
 τοὺς τυράννους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν τρόπον τὸν τῶν πολιτῶν· πολλοὶ
 γὰρ ἤδη διὰ τὴν τῶν ἀρχομένων κακίαν τραχύτερον ἢ κατὰ τὴν
 αὐτῶν γνώμην ἄρχειν ἤναγκάσθησαν. θαρρεῖτε μὴ μᾶλλον
 διὰ τὴν πραότητα τὴν ἐμὴν ἢ διὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν αὐτῶν ἀρετὴν.
 τὴν ἐμὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἄδειαν ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς εἶναι νομίζετε· 56
 καλῶς γὰρ τῶν περὶ ἐμὲ καθεστώτων τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ
 d τὰ περὶ ὑμᾶς ἔξει. ταπεινοὺς μὲν εἶναι χρὴ πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν

τὴν ἐμήν, ἐμμένοντας τοῖς ἔθεσι καὶ διαφυλάττοντας τοὺς νόμους τοὺς βασιλικούς, λαμπροὺς δ' ἐν ταῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως λειτουργίαις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ προστα-
 57 τομένοις. προτρέπετε τοὺς νεωτέρους ἐπ' ἀρετὴν μὴ μόνον παραινοῦντες ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τὰς πράξεις ὑποδεικνύοντες αὐτοῖς, οἷους εἶναι χρὴ τοὺς ἄνδρας τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς. διδά-
 σκετε τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς ὑμετέρους αὐτῶν πειθαρχεῖν, καὶ **e**
 περὶ τὴν παιδευσιν τὴν εἰρημένην ἐθίζειτ' αὐτοὺς ὡς μάλιστα διατρίβειν· ἦν γὰρ καλῶς ἄρχεσθαι μάθωσι, πολλῶν ἄρχειν δυνήσονται, καὶ πιστοὶ μὲν ὄντες καὶ δίκαιοι μεθέξουσιν τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀγαθῶν, κακοὶ δὲ γενόμενοι κινδυνεύουσιν περὶ
 58 τῶν ὑπαρχόντων. μέγιστον ἡγείσθε καὶ δικαιοτάτον τοῖς **39**
 παισὶ πλοῦτον παραδῶσειν, ἦν αὐτοῖς δύνησθε τὴν ἡμετέραν εὖνοιαν καταλείπειν. ἀθλιωτάτους ἡγείσθε καὶ δυστυχ-
 εστάτους, ὅσοι περὶ τοὺς πιστεύοντας ἄπιστοι γεγονάσιν· ἀνάγκη γὰρ τοὺς τοιούτους ἀθύμως ἔχοντας καὶ φοβου-
 μένους ἅπαντα καὶ μηδὲν μᾶλλον πιστεύοντας τοῖς φίλοις
 59 ἢ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς τὸν ἐπίλοιπον χρόνον διάγειν. ζηλοῦτε μὴ τοὺς τὰ πλείστα κεκτημένους ἀλλὰ τοὺς μηδὲν κακὸν σφίσιν **b**
 αὐτοῖς συνειδότας· μετὰ γὰρ τοιαύτης ψυχῆς ἥδιστ' ἂν τις δύναίτο τὸν βίον διαγαγεῖν. μὴ τὴν κακίαν οἴεσθε δύνασθαι μὲν πλεῖω τῆς ἀρετῆς ὠφελεῖν, τὸ δ' ὄνομα δυσχερέστερον ἔχειν, ἀλλ' οἷων περ ὀνομάτων ἕκαστον τῶν πραγμάτων τετύχηκε, τοιαύτας ἡγείσθε καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις αὐτῶν εἶναι.
 60 μὴ φθονεῖτε τοῖς παρ' ἐμοὶ πρωτεύουσιν ἀλλ' ἀμιλλᾶσθε καὶ πειρᾶσθε χρηστοὺς ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς παρέχοντες ἐξισοῦσθαι τοῖς **c**
 προέχουσιν. φιλεῖν οἴεσθε δεῖν καὶ τιμᾶν οὓσπερ ἂν [καὶ] ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἵνα καὶ παρ' ἐμοῦ τυγχάνητε τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων. οἶά περ παρόντος μου λέγετε, τοιαῦτα καὶ περὶ ἀπόντος φρο-
 61 νεῖτε. τὴν εὖνοιαν τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις ἐνδείκνυσθε μᾶλλον ἢ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις. ἀπάσχοντες ὑφ' ἑτέρων ὀργί-
 ζεσθε, ταῦτα τοὺς ἄλλους μὴ ποιεῖτε. περὶ ὧν ἂν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις κατηγορήτε, μηδὲν τούτων ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις ἐπιτηδεύετε. **d**

τοιαῦτα προσδοκᾶτε πράξειν, οἷ' ἂν περὶ ἡμῶν διανοήσθε. μὴ μόνον ἐπαινεῖτε τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἀλλὰ καὶ μιμείσθε. τοὺς 62 λόγους τοὺς ἑμοὺς νόμους εἶναι νομίζοντες πειρᾶσθε τούτοις ἐμμένειν, εἰδότες ὅτι τοῖς μάλιστα ποιοῦσιν ὑμῶν ἀγῶ βούλομαι, τάχιστα τούτοις ἐξέσται ζῆν ὥς αὐτοὶ βούλονται. κεφάλαιον τῶν εἰρημένων· οἷους περ τοὺς ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἀρχο-
e μένους οἴεσθε δεῖν περὶ ὑμᾶς εἶναι, τοιοῦτους χρῆ καὶ περὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν ἐμὴν ὑμᾶς γίνεσθαι.

Καὶ ταῦτ' ἂν ποιήτε, τί δεῖ περὶ τῶν συμβησομένων 63 μακρολογεῖν; ἦν γὰρ ἐγὼ τε παρέχω τοιοῦτον ἑμαντὸν οἶόν περ ἐν τῷ παρελθόντι χρόνῳ, καὶ τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν ὑπηρετῆται, 40 ταχέως ὄψεσθε καὶ τὸν βίον τὸν ὑμέτερον αὐτῶν ἐπιδεδωκότα καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν ἐμὴν ἡνυξημένην καὶ τὴν πόλιν εὐδαίμονα γεγεννημένην. ἄξιον μὲν οὖν τηλικούτων ἀγαθῶν ἔνεκα καὶ 64 μὴδὲν ἐλλείπειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πόρους καὶ κινδύνους οὐστινασοῦν ὑπενεγκεῖν· ὑμῖν δ' ἕξεσσι μὴδὲν ταλαιπωρηθεῖσιν ἀλλὰ πιστοῖς μόνον καὶ δικαίοις οὖσιν ἅπαντα ταῦτα διαπράξασθαι.

NOTES

I. EVAGORAS

- 1-4 *Great men after their death would be more gratified by an encomium celebrating their achievements than by costly offerings and musical and athletic contests.*

I ὦ Νικόκλεις: see Intro. p. 21.

τῶν ἐπιφερομένων: 'offerings' such as libations and sacrifices.

μουσικῇ καὶ γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσιν: cp. Plato, *Menex.* 249 B πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἀγῶνας γυμνικοὺς καὶ ἵππικοὺς τιθεῖσα καὶ μουσικῆς πάσης. μουσικῇ here probably includes literary as well as musical contests.

τριήρων ἀμίλλαις: cp. the races for ships at the games commemorating the anniversary of the death of Anchises (Virg. *Aen.* v. 42 ff.).

λείποντ' οὐδεμίαν τῶν τοιούτων ὑπερβολήν, 'leaving to others no opportunity of surpassing you in such respects'; cp. *de bigis* 35 τοῖς μέλλουσιν ἵπποτροφεῖν οὐδεμίαν ὑπερβολήν καταλιπόν (of Alcibiades). ὑπερβάλλειν and the middle ὑπερβάλλεσθαι mean either (1) 'to excel', 'surpass' (as in § 6, &c.), hence the above meaning of ὑπερβολή, or (2) absolutely 'to excel' (as in § 41) or 'to surpass all bounds' (as in § 14), hence ὑπερβολή comes to mean 'a wonderful extent' (εἰς ὑπερβολήν, § 23) and 'exaggeration' (§ 72), 'excess' (*ad N.* 33).

- 2 εἴ τις ἐστὶν αἰσθησις κτέ.: the usual Greek conception of life after death was that the dead lived a shadowy existence, which was a feeble imitation of their former life on earth. The question whether the dead know anything that is happening in the living world is frequently discussed in Greek literature and is raised elsewhere by Isocr. (*Aeg.* 42, *Plat.* 61). The most famous discussion is that in Plato's *Apology* 40 C δυοῖν . . . θάτερόν ἐστιν τὸ τεθνάναι· ἢ γὰρ οἶον μηδὲν εἶναι μηδ' αἰσθῆσιν μηδεμίαν μηδενὸς ἔχειν . . ., ἢ . . . μεταβολή τις τυγχάνει οὖσα καὶ μετοίκησις . . . εἰς ἄλλον τόπον.

ἐνθάδε, 'in this world.'

ἀποδέχεσθαι, 'welcome.'

κινδύνων: i. e. in particular his plot against the usurper (§§ 27-32) and his assistance to Conon (§§ 52-7).

τῶν . . . πεπραγμένων : gen. after ἀξίως, as also in § 40.

ἐκείνῳ : the dative of the agent has a far wider use in Greek than in Latin, and is preferred to ὑπό with the genitive after verbs in the perfect passive ; cp. § 38 τῶν τούτῳ πεπραγμένων.

- 3 ἀντὶ τῶν τοιούτων : i. e. ἀντὶ τοῦ τὰ τοιαῦτα λαβεῖν, 'preferring an encomium to all honours of this kind.'

περὶ αὐτῶν : περὶ is one of the few words after which Isocrates admits a *hiatus* (it occurs also in §§ 21, 52, 71, *ad N.* 6, 11, 18, 28).

- 4 οἱ περὶ τὴν μουσικὴν κτέ., 'those engaged in musical and other contests' ; cp. § 8 οἱ περὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ὄντες, and for μουσική, § 1.

οἱ δὲ περὶ τὴν μουσικὴν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀγωνίας ὄντες, οἱ μὲν τὰς δυνάμεις τὰς αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ τὰς τέχνας . . . : a good example of *chiasmus* ; here τέχνας corresponds to μουσικὴν, δυνάμεις to τὰς ἄλλας (i. e. gymnastic) ἀγωνίας.

δυνάμεις : here 'physical strength' ; for other meanings see *N. C.* 9, note.

κατέστησαν : gnomic aorist ; cp. *ad N.* 7 παρέσχεν . . . ἔλαβεν.

ὁ λόγος, 'discourse', 'speech'.

- 5-7 *Other writers ought to have praised their distinguished contemporaries and so stirred up the younger generation to emulate them. It is perhaps discouraging that the heroes of the Trojan war have been so celebrated by Epic and Tragic poets, that no one to-day, whatever his achievements, can hope for such fame. This feeling is due to jealousy, which is unworthy of a man of sense. In this discourse I am making a new departure ; but no advance is made in any department of human activity, unless some one strikes out a new line.*

- 5 τοὺς ἐφ' αὐτῶν ἄνδρας, 'their contemporaries' ; cp. *in Callim.* 18 ἐπὶ τῶν τριάκοντα, 'in the time of the thirty' ; contrast τοὺς ἐφ' αὐτοῖς (*N. C.* 20), 'their successors.'

κοσμεῖν, 'glorify.'

ἐν συνειδόσι ποιούμενοι τοὺς λόγους : cp. *Thuc.* ii. 36 μακρηγορεῖν ἐν εἰδόσιν οὐ βουλόμενος ἑάσω.

ταῖς ἀληθείαις : *Isocr.* is very fond of using the plural of abstract words.

ἐχρῶντο . . . δέικνεντο, 'in order that . . . they might have told the truth, and that the younger generation might have been more dis-

posed to emulate them.' The past tense of the indicative is in final clauses after *ὥς*, *ὥς* or *ὅπως* to express an *unfulfilled purpose* in present or past time. The principal sentence is either an unfulfilled wish or (as here) its equivalent, or an unfulfilled apodosis; cp. Soph. *O. T.* 1391 *τί μ' οὐ λαβὼν | ἔκτεινας εὐθύς, ὥς ἔδειξα μήποτε κτε.*, 'why did you not take and slay me at once, so that I might never have shown, &c.'

φιλοτιμότερος: the form of the comparative adv. in Attic Greek is usually the acc. neut. sing. but Isocr. favours the form in *-ως*, cp. § 21 *μειζόνως*, *ad N.* 14 *ἐρρωμενεστέρος*, *N. C.* 44 *περιττοτέρως*.

εὐλογήσονται: future middle with passive sense. Such forms are by no means uncommon in Attic Greek; I note four examples in a single chapter of Xenophon (*Cyrop.* vi. 1), viz. *αὐξήσεται*, *ἐπιβουλεύεται*, *πολιορκήσονται*, *ταράσσονται*; cp. also *ad Nic.* 16 *ἀδικήσονται*.

τούτων: gen. of the thing compared after *μᾶλλον*. *ὧν* a similar gen. after *ἀμείνους*.

- 6 **τοὺς μὲν περὶ τὰ Τρωϊκά**, 'those who were engaged in the Trojan wars.' For the use of *περὶ* cp. § 4 *οἱ περὶ τὴν μουσικὴν*. With *τὰ Τρωϊκά* we may compare such expressions as *τὰ Μηδικά*, *τὰ Περσικά*.

τοὺς ἐπέκεινα γενομένους, 'those who lived still earlier.' *ἐπέκεινα*, lit. 'on the further side', is used both of time (as here) and of place, cp. *τοῦ Ἡρακλείου ἐπέκεινα* (Xen. *Hell.* v. 1. 10). The reference is to the early heroes such as Heracles, Theseus, and the Argonauts. The scholiast has a note: *οἶον Ἐριχθόνιος, Ἰναχος, Εὐμολπος*.

ὑμνουμένους καὶ τραγῳδομένους: the subjects of songs and tragedies. *ὕμνος* in a strict sense applies to songs such as the Homeric Hymns, the lost Hymns of Pindar, and dithyrambic poems in honour of heroes, such as the *Theseus* and *Heracles* of Bacchylides; but the verb *ὑμνεῖν* is also used in a wider sense (= Latin *celebrare*), and so here the reference is probably also to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* and the lesser epics. The Greek tragedians took their plots in almost every case from legendary history; the *Persae* of Aeschylus is the sole exception among the tragedies which have come down to us.

αὐτὸν δὲ προειδῆ . . . ἀξιοθησόμενον, 'foresees that, even if he surpasses their achievements, he will never be thought worthy of such praises.' In the participial construction after verbs of *knowing*, *seeing*, &c., when the reflexive (*αὐτόν*) is used, the participle (*ἀξιοθησόμενον*) naturally agrees with the reflexive.

ὑπερβάλλη: see note on ὑπερβολήν, § 1.

ὁ φθόνος, ᾧ τοῦτο πρόσσεστιν κτέ., 'envy, about which this is the only good point, namely, that it is a far greater curse to those who are actuated by it than to any one else'; cp. *de antidos.* 13 βούλωμαι τοὺς φθονοῦντας ἔτι μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου ταύτης λυπείσθαι, and Seneca, *Ep.* 81. 2 *hoc* (i. e. *malitia*) *habentibus pessimum est.*

οὔτω γὰρ δυσκόλως κτέ., 'for some people are so ill-natured that they would rather hear those men praised of whose very existence they are ignorant, than men from whom they have themselves received benefits.'

οὓς οὐκ ἴσασιν εἰ γεγόνασιν: when verbs of *knowing*, &c., are constructed with a dependent clause, the subject of the dependent clause is often anticipated as the object of the verb of *knowing*; cp. οἶδά σε ὅστις εἶ, 'I know thee who thou art,' and Plato, *Euthyd.* 294 C οἶσθα Εὐθύδημον ὁπόσους δδόντας ἔχει; and for a similar construction after a verb of *showing* *N. C.* 12 εἰ προεπιδείξαμι . . . τὴν πολιτείαν ὡς ἄξιόν ἐστι.

7. οὐ μὲν: μὲν with a negative means 'but all the same', 'however', cp. οὐ μέντοι in the same sense.

δουλευτέον τοὺς νοῦν ἔχοντας: with the impersonal verbal construction the agent is usually in the *dative*, but in Attic Greek the *accusative* is also used, especially when (as here) there is another dative in the sentence; cp. Plato, *Crito* 49 A οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ φαρμὲν ἐκόντας ἀδικητέον εἶναι, and Thuc. viii. 65 οὔτε μισθοφορητέον εἶη ἄλλους ἢ τοὺς στρατευομένους οὔτε μεθεκτέον τῶν πραγμάτων πλέοσιν ἢ πεντακισχιλίοις, where both constructions are found. The acc. may be due to the analogy of the acc. after δέι.

τοιούτων: masculine.

τοὺς ἄλλους: the object of ἐθιστέον, not the agent.

ἄλλως τ' ἐπειδὴ καί: καί here qualifies τὰς ἐπιδόσεις and cannot be taken with ἄλλως τε. The phrase ἄλλως τε followed by ἐπειδὴ or ἐάν is not uncommon in Isocr. (cp. *ad N.* 51 and *Paneg.* 66) and in other Attic writers, especially Xenophon. There is clearly some distinction between ἄλλως τε and the more common ἄλλως τε καί ('especially', lit. 'both otherwise and'). Sandys, on *Paneg.* l. c., says that ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπειδὴ 'is more common, but less forcible than ἄλλως τ' ἐπειδὴ'. The best explanation of the phrase ἄλλως τε is that ἄλλως here means 'otherwise', i. e. 'in a greater degree',

so that the whole phrase ἄλλως τ' ἐπειδὴ will mean 'still more so when', 'above all when'.

ἐπιδόσεις, 'advance', 'progress' (a favourite word in Isocr.), from the intransitive use of ἐπιδιδόναι. It also has a technical meaning 'money advanced' by citizens in an emergency of the state.

τοῖς καθεστῶσιν, 'the established order of things.'

τοὺς ἐπανορθοῦντας: sc. τὰ καθεστῶτα.

κινεῖν, 'to alter,' i.e. 'improve' as in *ad N.* 17; in § 63 in bad sense, 'tamper with', 'disturb'; cp. κινεῖν τὰ ἀκίνητα.

8-11 *Eulogy in prose is more difficult than in verse and has never before been attempted. The poet can employ embellishments of every kind, and rhythm and metre add a charm. However, the eulogist in prose must do his best.*

8 διὰ λόγων, 'in prose'; cp. Xen. *Cyrop.* i. 4. 25 ἐν λόγῳ καὶ ἐν ᾠδαῖς and the use of *oratio* in Latin, e.g. *et in poematis et in oratione* (Cic. *Orat.* 21).

σημεῖον δὲ μέγιστον· περὶ μὲν γάρ: for the omission of ἐστὶ and this use of γάρ (which is often omitted and which we should not translate in English) cp. § 51 μέγιστον δὲ τεκμήριον τῶν γάρ, and *N. C.* 21 τὸ δὲ μέγιστον . . . γάρ.

οἱ περὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ὄντες: cp. οἱ περὶ τὴν μουσικὴν (§ 4). On the meaning of φιλοσοφία in Isocr. see *Intro.* p. 14.

9 κόσμοι, 'means of embellishment.'

ποιῆσαι, 'represent.' ποιεῖν has the generic meaning of 'to do', 'to make', and the specific meaning of 'to compose', 'represent in poetry', see note on § 36 ποιησάμενος.

περὶ τούτων δηλῶσαι, 'treat of these subjects.'

τεταγμένοις ὀνόμασι, 'current' or 'ordinary language', also called κύρια or πολιτικά ὀνόματα (see below).

ξένοις, 'out-of-the-way,' i.e. either antiquated words or words taken from some other dialect; such words were often called γλῶτται (see below).

καινοῖς, 'newly coined,' called also πεποιημένα ὀνόματα.

εἵδεσι: sc. κόσμων, 'different kinds of embellishment.'

With the whole of this passage cp. Aristot. *Poet.* 1457^b 1 ἅπαν

ὄνομά ἐστιν ἢ κύριον ἢ γλῶττα ἢ μεταφορὰ ἢ κόσμος ἢ πεποιημένον, 'every word is either current or strange or metaphorical or ornamental or newly-coined.' Thus κύριον or τεταγμένον or πολιτικόν (see below) ὄνομα is the ordinary name for a thing. The rest are ἀλλότρια ὀνόματα. γλῶτται or ξένα ὀνόματα are foreign or obsolete words and, according to Aristotle, must not be used in prose. καινά or πεποιημένα ὀνόματα are newly-coined words, such as the strange compounds—ρήματα γομφοπαγῇ, 'words pinned together with nails'—in which Aeschylus delighted. Of μεταφοραί Aristotle enumerates several kinds, of which the most common is that from analogy; if you want a metaphor for 'old age', he says, you must reflect that old age : life :: sunset : day; accordingly you may call old age δυσμαί βίου, or the sunset γῆρας ἡμέρας. Compare also Dionys. *de comp. verb.* 25 καὶ ἡ ἐκλογὴ τῶν ὀνομάτων μέγα τι δύναται, καὶ ἔστι τις ὀνομασία ποιητικὴ, γλωττηματικῶν τε καὶ ξένων καὶ τροπικῶν καὶ πεποιημένων, 'the choice of words also is important and poetry has its own vocabulary, consisting of strange, out-of-the-way, figurative and newly-coined words.'

παραλιπεῖν : cp. the Latin *praetermittere*.

διαποικίλαι, 'diversify.' ποικίλος is properly used of things of varied pattern or colour, e.g. embroidery (Aesch. *Agam.* 923), a fawn's skin (Eur. *Bacch.* 249), and a peacock (Athen. 397 C).

10 τοῖς περὶ τοὺς λόγους : see note on § 8 διὰ λόγων.

ἀποτόμως : with ἀναγκαῖον, 'absolutely' (from ἀπό, τέμνω), cp. the Latin *praecise* (from *prae, caedo*) and the English 'sheer necessity'.

πολιτικοῖς : πολιτικός is lit. 'of' or 'belonging to a citizen'; cp. *ad N.* 21 τῶν οἰκῶν τῶν πολιτικῶν; so here of language 'suitable to a citizen', so 'ordinary', 'current', equivalent to τεταγμένος (§ 9). By an extension of meaning πολιτικός can also mean 'having to do with politics'; cp. *ad N.* 51 τῶν πολιτικῶν (sc. λόγων), 'political discussions,' and § 46 πολιτικός ὢν, lit. 'being a suitable person to govern', so 'an able administrator'.

τῶν ἐνθυμημάτων κτέ., 'those ideas which concern the actual facts.' ἐνθύμημα is here used in its literal sense; later, in Aristotelian logic, it has the meaning of 'a syllogism drawn from probable premises'.

μέτρων καὶ ῥυθμῶν : *metre* is the arrangement of syllables so as to form verses; *rhythm*, the proportion and harmony produced by this arrangement.

- 11 ἐκέλευεν, 'from the following consideration,' referring forward to the sentence introduced by γάρ; cp. the regular use of ἐκείνος as the antecedent of the relative (= Latin *is*), and ἐκείνως . . . εἰ (§ 39).

ἦν γὰρ . . . τὰ μὲν ὀνόματα κτέ., 'if one retains only the words and ideas and breaks up the metre.' With the whole of this passage cp. Plato, *Republ.* x. 601 B ἐπεὶ γυμνωθέντα γε τῶν τῆς μουσικῆς χρωμάτων τὰ τῶν ποιητῶν, αὐτὰ ἐφ' αὐτῶν λεγόμενα, οἶμαί σε εἰδέναι οἷα φαίνεται.

ἦς: the relative is here attracted into the case of its antecedent; cp. Xen. *Anab.* i. 3. 16 τῷ ἡγεμόνι πιστεύσομεν ᾧ ἂν Κῦρος διδῷ.

πλεονεκτοῦσης: πλεονεκτεῖν (πλέον ἔχειν) has two meanings (1) when πλέον means 'more', 'to have more than some one else', so 'to have an advantage' (as here), cp. πλεονεξίας (*N.C.* 22), 'advantages'; or (2) 'to have too much', so 'to be greedy' or 'grasping' as in § 20 and *ad N.* 24, and πλεονεξία (*N.C.* 1), 'selfish end'.

εἰ, 'to see if.'

- 12-18 *The descent of Evagoras from Zeus, Aeacus, and Teucer, the founder of Salamis.*

- 12 φύσεως, 'birth,' as in § 49; περὶ τῆς φύσεως . . . καὶ τίνων ἦν ἀπόγονος depend on προεπίστανται.

διελθεῖν περί, 'describe,' a more common meaning than the literal meaning 'to pass through'. It usually governs a direct acc., e.g. in § 48.

- 13 ὁμολογεῖται μὲν γὰρ κτέ., 'it is generally admitted that the descendants of Zeus were the noblest of the heroes, and among these every one would assign the first place to the Aeacidæ.'

τῶν καθ' αὐτούς, 'their contemporaries,' like τοὺς ἐφ' αὐτῶν (§ 5).

- 14 τοῦτο μὲν: adverbial acc. 'on the one hand', 'in the first place', usually answered by τοῦτο δέ, but here the construction is varied and a simple δέ follows.

τοσοῦτον διήνεγκεν, 'excelled', 'occupied so distinguished a position'. διαφέρειν means (1) 'to differ', (2) by a slight extension of meaning 'to surpass'; it is here used absolutely. In *N.C.* 19 διαφερομένους, 'differing from one another', 'disputing'.

ὑπερβάλλον: see note on § 1 ὑπερβολήν.

ἦλθον . . . ἱκετεύοντες: note that the present participle (not the future participle of purpose) is used, 'came with prayers.'

διὰ τῆς συγγενείας : sc. Διός, 'his kinship with Zeus.'

εὐσεβείας : Schneider quotes Plut. *Theseus* 10 Διακὸν Ἑλλήνων
 ὁσιώτατον νομίζεσθαι.

- 15 ἱερόν : Pausanias (ii. 29. 7), who relates the same story of Aeacus, describes the shrine, which he calls the Aeaceion. It stood 'in the most conspicuous part of the city' (i. e. the capital of Aegina) and contained 'sacred olive-trees, an altar, and statues of the Greeks who were sent to consult Aeacus'. The word ἱερόν must here be equivalent not to ναός ('temple'), but to τέμενος ('enclosure', lit. 'piece cut off', from τέμνω, cp. Latin *templum*), a meaning which it also bears in Thuc. iv. 90, where the ἱερόν (at Delium) is distinguished from the actual building.

κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων : this shrine of Aeacus must not be confused with the Panhellenion, which was built by Aeacus and dedicated to Zeus, and stood on a hill (the modern Mt. Oros) outside the city (Paus. ii. 33. 3-4).

οὐπερ, 'on the very spot where.' The enclitic περ has an intensifying force.

κατ' ἐκείνόν τε τὸν χρόνον . . . ἐπειδὴ δέ (see critical note) : to avoid the *anacoluthon* of τε followed by δέ, most editors emend δέ to τε ; Schneider, however, clearly shows that this is unnecessary, and quotes amongst other parallels *Panath.* 212, where the MSS. read συμβαίνει . . . ἔν τε τοῖς παισὶν εὐδοκίμειν μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων, ἐπειδὴν δέ κτέ., and Thuc. i. 11. 1 τὸν τε στρατὸν ἐλάσσω ἤγαγον, ἐπειδὴ δέ κτέ.

μετήλλαξε, 'quitted.' μεταλλάττειν is lit. 'to exchange by taking (or giving) something instead'.

Κόρη : the regular name for Persephone in Attica.

μεγίστας τιμὰς : Aeacus is often described as a judge of the underworld together with Minos and Rhadamanthus.

- 16 ἐπὶ Λαομέδοντα στρατευσάμενος : the reference is to the legendary expedition against Troy a generation earlier than the great Trojan war. Poseidon had helped Laomedon to build Troy, and, when Laomedon refused to reward him for his work, Poseidon sent a sea monster against the city. This monster was appeased each year by the sacrifice of a maiden. Heracles on his return from fighting with the Amazons found that Hesione, the daughter of Laomedon, was about to be sacrificed. He promised to slay the monster, if Laomedon would give him the famous horses which Zeus had given to

Troy. Hesione was saved, but again Laomedon refused the reward. Heracles therefore, assisted by Telamon, made an expedition against Troy and destroyed it, and slew all the sons of Laomedon except Priam.

ἀριστείων: his reward, according to Apollodorus (xi. 6. 4), was the hand of Hesione, daughter of Laomedon.

τῇ μάχῃ τῇ πρὸς Κενταύρους: i. e. the fight of the Lapiths and Centaurs at the marriage of Peirithous. This story was familiar to the Greeks from its frequent representation in art, e. g. on the western pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia (Gardner, *Gk. Sculpture*, pp. 221 ff.) and on the metopes of the Parthenon (ib. pp. 270 ff.).

πολλοὺς ἄλλους κινδύνους: in particular, he was one of the Argonauts.

ἀθανάτη: in most Attic writers ἀθάνατος is an adjective of two terminations. Isocr. does not use the feminine form elsewhere, but this is the only passage where it is used of a *person*; elsewhere it is applied to abstract conceptions *μνήμη* (*ad N.* 37) *δόξα* (ib. 32), &c. Homer uses the feminine form when speaking of goddesses: cp. ἀθάναται ἄλιαι, 'the immortal goddesses of the sea' (*Od.* xxiv. 47).

μόνου τούτου κτέ., 'he was the only man of olden times at whose marriage the wedding hymn is said to have been sung by the gods'; namely, by Apollo, to whom Hera says:—

πάντες δ' ἀντιάσθε, θεοί, γάμου· ἐν δὲ σὺ τοῖσι
δαίνυ' ἔχων φόρμιγγα, κακῶν ἔταρ', αἰὲν ἄπιστε.

(Hom. *Il.* xxiv. 62-3.)

Plato, *Repub.* 383 B, quotes a passage from a lost play of Aeschylus in which Thetis complains that Apollo sang at her marriage and afterwards slew her son.

17 τούτων δ' ἐκατέρου κτέ., 'both of them had sons; Ajax and Teucer were sons of Telamon, and Achilles of Peleus.'

τοὺς βαρβάρους: i. e. the Trojans. The connexion of Aegina with the two expeditions against Troy was fitly commemorated in the two pediments of the Temple of Aphaea in Aegina, the sculptures from which are now mainly in the Glyptothek at Munich, though the more recently discovered fragments are in Athens. The eastern pediment represents the expedition of Heracles and Telamon, the

western the later expedition (see Gardner, op. cit., pp. 201 ff.; Furtwängler, *Glyptothek*, pp. 77 ff.).

- 18 οὐδενός δὲ τῶν ὀνομαστῶν ἀπολειφθέντος, 'no hero of distinction having absented himself'; lit. 'having been left behind'. The various uses of ἀπολείπειν are well illustrated in this speech. Its literal meaning is 'to leave behind', so § 51 τὰς πατρίδας ἀπολιπόντες, and in the passive here and in § 79. It is also used intransitively in the active (§ 71, see note). In the passive it is used (1) followed by a genitive (due to the idea of *comparison*), lit. 'to be left behind by', so 'to be inferior' (ἀπολείφθαι, § 47), and 'to fall short of' (ἀπολείφθω τῶν πεπραγμένων, § 48), and so *N. C.* 19 ἀπολείπονται τῶν καιρῶν, 'they miss their opportunities'; (2) absolutely, 'inferior,' § 61 πάσαις ἀπολειμμένος ταῖς δυνάμεσιν, 'inferior in resources of every kind.'

Σαλαμίνα κτί.: Isocr. emphasizes the connexion between the town of Salamis in the east of Cyprus and the island of Salamis in the Saronic Gulf, near Athens, as evidence of the Greek descent of the family of Evagoras.

τὸ γένος τὸ νῦν βασιλεῖον κατέλιπεν: cp. Paus. ii. 29. 3 οἱ δὲ Τευκρίδαι βασιλεῖς διέμειναν Κυπρίων ἄρχοντες εἰς Εὐαγόραν.

- 19-21 *The Teucridae ruled in Cyprus until a Phoenician exile seized the kingdom and subjected the whole island to the power of the King of Persia. When Evagoras was born, the descendants of the usurper still ruled.*

- 19 τὰ ὑπάρξαντα: ὑπάρχειν has two main uses (1) 'to begin' usually with the genitive, sometimes absolutely as in § 28, (2) 'to be in the beginning' (so here τὰ ὑπάρξαντα, 'the original inheritance'), and so often merely 'to be', 'to exist', and followed by the dative 'to belong to'.

τηλικαῦτα: τηλικούτος is here equivalent to τοσοῦτος; for another meaning see § 22.

τὸ μέγεθος, adverbial acc. qualifying τηλικαῦτα; cp. § 65 τοσοῦτοι τὸ πλῆθος.

χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον, 'some time afterwards'; cp. Lys. 99. 40 χρόνους ὕστερον. χρόνος can mean not only 'time', but also 'a considerable period of time'; cp. Herodot. ix. 62 χρόνῳ ποτέ, 'at last.'

ἀνὴρ φυγᾶς : his name is not recorded.

πιστευθεῖς : in Greek, unlike Latin, verbs which in the active govern a gen. or dat. can be used *personally* in the passive; cp. οἱ ἀρχόμενοι (N. C. 38), 'subjects' (lit. 'those ruled'), from ἀρχω, which in the active governs a genitive.

- 20 δεινὸς δὲ πρὸς τὸ πλεονεκτῆσαι : lit. 'being terrible at seizing more than his share', so 'being exceedingly grasping'. For πλεονεκτῆσαι see note on § 11.

ἀπιστῶν τοῖς πεπραγμένοις, 'feeling doubtful about the result of his actions.'

ἐξεβαρβάρωσε : i. e. he 'barbarized' Cyprus by discouraging Greek influence and culture. To a Greek any one who was not a Greek was a barbarian, βάρβαρος being an onomatopoeic word signifying one who speaks an unintelligible language. The barbarization of Cyprus is more fully described in § 47. For the probable date and duration of this period of Phoenician influence in Cyprus see *Intro.* p. 18 f.

βασιλεῖ τῷ μεγάλῳ : βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας, and often βασιλεὺς without the article (as in §§ 55, 57, 62, 68), always refers to the King of Persia as the foreign king with whom the Greeks had most concern.

- 21 ἐκείνου : i. e. the usurper.

γίγνεται : Schneider quotes numerous passages illustrating the use of the historic present of γίγνεσθαι in the sense of 'to be born', e. g. Herod. i. 102 Δηϊόκεω παῖς γίγνεται Φραδῶρης ; cp. Suet. *Nero* 4 *ex hoc Domitius nascitur*.

περὶ οὗ : for the *hiatus* cp. περὶ αὐτῶν, § 3, and note.

φήμας : frequently used of chance utterances interpreted as omens by those who heard them.

ἐξ ὧν μεζόνως κτέ., 'judging from which his birth would appear to have something superhuman about it.'

μεζόνως : see note on φιλοτιμοτέρως, § 5. The forms μεζόνως and μεϊόνως are more usual in Attic Greek than μείζον and μέϊον.

ἥ κατὰ : the Latin *quam pro* ; cp. N. C. 55 τραχύτερον ἢ κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶν γνώμην.

τοσοῦτου δέω : constructed with the infin. followed by ὥστε with the indic. (Latin, *tantum absum ut . . . ut . . .*). Only in this and similar phrases (e. g. μικροῦ ἐδέησε, § 62) is δέω used *personally* in

the active. τοσούτου is genitive after a verb expressing *need* or *want*.

τῶν ὑπαρχόντων: lit. 'things existing', so 'actually true cases' of omens, &c. For ὑπάρχειν see note on § 19.

22-24 *The youth of Evagoras gave promise of future greatness. The good qualities which he displayed when he reached manhood clearly showed that he was not destined to spend his life in a private station.*

22 τῶν ἀγαθῶν: partitive genitive, 'among good qualities.'

τοῖς τηλικούτοις: τηλικούτος, lit. 'of such a size' (cp. § 19), often means 'of that age', so here 'those of his own age', i.e. boys; it can equally well mean 'old men', e.g. *Panath.* 88 τοῖς τηλικούτοις.

τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν: genitive after the superlative idea contained in ἐκρατίστευσεν. ἡλικιώτης, 'of a certain time of life,' here 'contemporaries'. ἡλικία means 'any time of life', especially 'prime of life', with reference to the age at which a man can serve as a soldier; but in § 71 it refers to 'old age', in *N. C.* 44, 45 to 'youth'.

23 οὐ μέσως, 'to no ordinary degree'; cp. *Thuc.* vi. 54 μέσος πολίτης, 'an ordinary citizen.'

ἑτέροις: dat. after προσγίγνεται understood.

ψυχῆς: it is interesting to note the use of this word in Isocr. The chief uses of the word in Greek are: (1) 'breath', so 'life' (as in § 41, see note); (2) 'the immortal part of man', his 'soul'; (3) 'soul' in sense of 'reason', 'mind', 'intelligence'. It is used by Isocr. almost invariably in the last sense, the 'mind' as opposed to the body (so here and § 27; *ad N.* 11, 37, 46); in *N. C.* 59 it means an 'attitude of mind'. It can even be used of animals, αὐτῶν τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμεροῦμεν, 'we tame their spirits' (*ad N.* 12). In short, it is never used in a metaphysical sense. The only passage in these three speeches where it can be rendered 'soul' (= 'personality') is *N. C.* 7 λόγος ἀληθὴς καὶ νόμιμος καὶ δίκαιος ψυχῆς ἀγαθῆς καὶ πιστῆς εἰδωλὸν ἐστίν; but here the idea of the mental side of personality is uppermost.

ὑπερβολήν: see note on § 1.

διήνεγκεν: see note on § 14.

- 24 οἱ τότε βασιλεύοντες: the reference must be to the usurper, and either the plur. is used for sing., or else it means the usurper and his family.

τὴν φύσιν: adverbial acc. after τοιοῦτον; cp. § 19 τηλικαῦτα τὸ μέγεθος.

διαγαγεῖν: sc., as often, τὸν βίον (which Isocr. inserts in *N. C.* 2 τὸν βίον διάγωμεν); cp. the similar omission of χρόνον with διατρίβειν in § 31, &c. (inserted in *N. C.* 19 χρόνον διατρίβουσιν). For the literal sense of διάγειν, 'lead through,' cp. § 30 τοὺς μέθ' αὐτοῦ διαγαγών.

ἀποβλέπειαν: ἀποβλέπειν, 'to look away from (other things)' εἰς, 'at', so 'look (steadfastly) at'.

ἐξαμαρτάνειν: lit. 'to make a mistake', so followed by περί and the acc., 'to do wrong to.'

- ;-26 *Heaven watched over Evagoras and helped him to win back the kingdom without committing impiety. A noble of Salamis murdered the usurper and attempted to seize Evagoras, who, however, escaped.*

- 25 τοσοῦτον τῆς δόξης κτέ., 'in spite of (two) such different opinions about him, they were not wrong in either case,' lit. 'though their opinion (about him) varied so much' (i. e. in spite of their two very different opinions about him, namely, that (1) he was too able a man to remain in a private station, and (2) that he was always ready to help others) 'they were not deceived in either'. παραλλάττειν, a word not elsewhere found in Isocr., is here used intransitively.

ὁ δαίμων: θεός means a particular god, δαίμων, 'divine power', 'potency'. δαίμων often means a 'genius', i. e. the power that watches over an individual, so 'lot', 'fortune'. Here perhaps we may translate 'Heaven watched over him', &c.

ἔσχεν αὐτοῦ πρόνοιαν ὅπως λήψεται: the future indic. is used with ὅπως after verbs of *taking care* and *striving*, even though the principal verb is historic, because the mood and tense are retained which would be used when the person conceived the purpose; cp. the retention of original tenses in reported speech.

καλῶς, 'honourably.'

- 26 ἐξ ὧν δ' οἶόν τ' ἦν κτέ.: the subject of διεφύλαξεν is ὁ δαίμων understood, and the object is an antecedent supplied from ἐξ ὧν

(cp. ἀφεμένους ἐφ' οἷς, § 78). Translate: 'but reserved for Evagoras the means whereby it was possible for him to win the kingdom righteously and justly.'

εἷς γὰρ τῶν δυναστευόντων, 'one of the powerful men of Salamis,' by name Abdemon, who, according to Diodorus (xiv. 98), was a native of Citium in Cyprus, but, according to Theopompus (*fr.* 111), a Tyrian.

συλλαβεῖν: συλλαμβάνειν is regularly used as a technical legal term, 'to arrest.'

ἐκποδῶν: an adverb, 'out of the way' (ἐκ, ποῦς).

- 27-29 *Evagoras escaped from Cyprus to Soli in Cilicia. At a moment when he might well have been in despair, he conceived the idea of regaining the lost throne of his forefathers. He gathered fifty devoted adherents and returned to Salamis.*

- 27 Σόλους: Soli was an Athenian colony south-west of Tarsus in Cilicia. It must be distinguished from Soli in the north-west of Cyprus, which was a Phoenician settlement. Strabo (p. 663) derived the word σόλοικος, 'speaking incorrectly,' and σολοικισμός (our English word 'solecism'), from the fact that the Attic dialect became corrupt among the colonists of Soli; this derivation is, however, improbable.

τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην τοῖς . . . περιπίπτουσι: ὁ αὐτός is regularly followed by the dative, 'the same as,' cp. § 77 τῶν αὐτῶν ἐκείνοις ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἐπιθυμῶσιν.

ταπεινοτέρως, 'humbled,' lit. 'more humble (i.e. than usual)'.

εἰς τοσοῦτον μεγαλοφροσύνης, 'to such (a point of) greatness of soul'; for the neuter of the pronoun followed by the genitive cp. § 54 εἰς τοῦτ' ἀπληστίας.

τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον: ἄλλος when applied to χρόνος almost always refers to the *past*, λοιπός (§ 80) or ἐπιλοιπός (*N. C.* 58) being used of the *future*.

ᾧν: the present participle often serves as an imperfect participle, trans. 'though he had been'.

- 28 πλάνους τοὺς φυγαδικούς κτέ., 'he despised a wandering life of exile, and the attempt to obtain his release by the help of others, and courting men who were his inferiors.'

κάθοδον: the regular word for 'return' from exile; the verb is κατελθεῖν, § 36.

θεραπεύειν: lit. 'to pay attention to', esp. of the gods, 'to worship' (cp. *θεραπεία*, *ad N.* 20); of human beings, 'to court', 'pay attention to', so (*ad N.* 28) 'to serve' (cp. *θεραπεία* (*N. C.* 22) 'service', (§ 46) 'devotion to'); 'to win over' (*ad N.* 16), 'to make much of' (*ad N.* 53); but here in a bad sense 'to flatter'. It is also used as a medical technical term to 'treat', 'attend'.

λαβὼν δὲ ταύτην ἀφορμήν, 'taking this as his principle.' ταύτην, in the absence of the definite article, must be predicative. ἀφορμή, lit. 'starting-point', so 'principle'; it can also be used as a military term 'base of operations', and by a slight extension of meaning 'resources', 'advantages' (as in *ad N.* 4).

χρή: sc. λαβεῖν.

ἀμύνεσθαι καὶ μὴ προτέρους ὑπάρχειν, 'to act on the defensive and not to begin a quarrel'; cp. *de digis* 44 οὐδ' ἀμυνόμενος ἀλλ' ὑπάρχων ἡδίκηκε αὐτούς. For ὑπάρχειν see note on § 19. προτέρους is pleonastic.

παρακαλέσας, 'having called in the help of'; a more common meaning of παρακαλεῖν is 'to exhort', followed by ἐπὶ or πρὸς, or the acc. and infin., cp. *N. C.* 12 παρακαλέσαι πρὸς τὸ μνημονεύειν.

ὥς οἱ τοὺς πλείστους λέγοντες: sc. λέγουσι, 'according to the account of those who give the highest estimate.' For the ellipse, Schneider compares Plut. *Cleom.* 9. 3 διὸ καὶ καλῶς ὁ εἰπὼν (sc. εἶπεν), "Ἰνα γὰρ δέος, ἔνθα καὶ αἰδώς.

- 29 μέλλοντος . . . οὗτ' ἐκεῖνος ἡθύμησεν: the gen. abs. is generally used only when the participle cannot agree with some substantive in the sentence. This rule, however, is violated in order to emphasize the participial clause. Here μέλλοντος might have been nominative agreeing with ἐκεῖνος: the gen. abs. may be justified on the ground that there are two alternative principal clauses, οὗτ' ἐκεῖνος ἡθύμησε and οὕτε . . . οὐδεὶς . . . ἡξίωσεν, and of the two subjects ἐκεῖνος only refers to the same person as μέλλοντος. Other examples are Xen. *Cyr. op.* i. 4. § 2 καὶ γὰρ ἀσθενήσαντος αὐτοῦ οὐδέποτε ἀπέλειπε τὸν πάππον, and Plato, *Rep.* 547^b βιαζομένων δὲ καὶ ἀντεινόντων ἀλλήλοις . . . ὠμολόγησαν.

τοσούτων, 'so few men.' The meaning of τοσούτος, like that of τηλικοῦτος (see note on § 22), depends on the context.

τὸ μέγεθος: see note on § 19.

τῶν παρακληθέντων, 'those whom he had summoned to his aid';
cp. παρακαλέσας, § 28 and note.

ὥσπερ . . . οὕτω διέκειτο τὴν γνώμην, 'showed the determination of one who' &c., lit. 'was so disposed as to his mind as though'.

30-32 *Without attempting to occupy a strong position Evagoras broke open a gate of the city and marched on the palace. After a desperate struggle he captured it, secured the city and established himself on his ancestral throne.*

30 δῆλον δ' ἐκ τῶν ἔργων ἀποβὰς γάρ: for the omission of the copula and the use of γάρ cp. § 8 σημείον δὲ μέγιστον and note.

περιδεῖν, εἰ, 'wait and see whether,' lit. 'look around to see if'.
περιορᾶν is much more frequently used in the sense of to 'overlook', i. e. 'look on without noticing', so 'allow', 'suffer', followed by the acc. of the participle; cp. *ad N.* 16 ἦν μὴθ' ὑβρίζειν τὸν ὄχλον ἕως μὴθ' ὑβριζόμενον περιορᾶς.

ὥσπερ εἶχε, 'as he was.' ἔχω is frequently used as an auxiliary with adverbs (cp. § 49 ἀπροσσίτως καὶ χαλεπῶς εἶχον, &c.) and, as here, with adverbial conjunctions.

διαγαγών: see note on § 24 for the meaning of διαάγειν.

31 καιροῖς: καιρός means 'time' in the sense of 'a point of time', so 'moment', 'opportunity', 'crisis'; χρόνος is 'time' in general or 'period of time' (see also note on § 19).

διατρίβειν: sc. τὸν χρόνον, see note on § 24 διαγαγεῖν. διατρίβειν is lit. 'to rub away' (cp. Latin *tempus terere*), so with τὸν χρόνον 'to spend time', so 'live', sometimes in a bad sense 'to waste time'. The substantive διατριβή means (1) 'spending time', so 'pastime' ('pass-time'), 'amusement', 'society' (as in *ad N.* 29); (2) 'serious employment', 'study' (as in § 78, *N. C.* 1); so (3) 'discussion', 'conversation' (as in § 74); (4) 'waste of time'.

ἀνταγωνιστῶν . . . θεατῶν: predicative, 'while the followers of the tyrant resisted him and the rest of the citizens looked on.'

τοῦ μέν: the tyrant. τοῦ δέ: Evagoras.

32 καὶ μόνος πρὸς πολλοὺς καὶ μετ' ὀλίγων πρὸς ἅπαντας τοὺς ἐχθροὺς: a good example of *chiasmus*. We should translate 'either single-handed . . . or with a small band of men'.

- 3-34 *The story of his recovery of the kingdom is enough to show how great a man Evagoras was. His greatness can be further illustrated by comparing his achievements with those of the famous men of history.*

- 33 οὐ μὴν ἀλλά: elliptical, 'not indeed . . . but,' so 'nevertheless'; cp. the colloquial English, 'not but what.'

ἐκ τῶν ἐχομένων, 'from what follows'. ἔχεσθαι is lit. 'to hold for oneself', so 'to cling to', so 'to be near' (cp. οἱ ἐχόμενοι, 'the neighbours,' and *Paneg.* 96 τὴν ἐχομένην νῆσον), so 'to follow' (cp. *Thuc.* vi. 3 τὸ ἐχόμενον ἔτος, 'next year'); cp. τὸν δ' ἐχόμενον (λόγον), *N. C.* 11 and note.

- 34 πρὸς ἕκαστον αὐτῶν: for πρὸς τὰς ἐκάστου αὐτῶν πράξεις by a common Greek idiom in which a quality is compared, not with another quality, but with the possessor of that quality; cp. *Hom. Il.* xvii. 51 κόμαι Χαρίτεσσιν ὁμοίαι, 'hair like (that of) the Graces,' and *ad N.* 31 τὸ τῆς πόλεως ὅλης ἥθος ὁμοιοῦται τοῖς ἄρχουσιν.

οὔτ' ἂν ὁ λόγος κτέ., 'such a detailed account would not perhaps suit the occasion, nor would the time suffice for its recital.'

καιροῖς . . . χρόνος: see note on § 31.

ἐπὶ τούτων σκοπῶμεν, 'we test Evagoras by the light of them.'
For this use of ἐπὶ cp. *ad N.* 50 ἐπὶ τῶν χρησίμων αὐτοῦς δοκιμάζειν.

ἐξετῶμεν: contracted for the more common ἐξετάσσομεν; cp. βιβῶν (fut. part.) from βιβάζω (*Soph. O. C.* 381). This so-called Attic future is most frequently found in verbs in -ίζω, e.g. κομίζω, fut. κομιῶ. σ has a strong tendency to drop out between two vowels.

- 5-36 *How far more glorious to win a throne, as Evagoras did, than to inherit it! The poets tell us of early heroes who recovered their kingdoms, even inventing such stories; but no poet ever imagined such dangers as Evagoras underwent or such honourable methods as he adopted.*

- 35 τῶν μὲν οὖν κτέ., 'who would not prefer the dangers of Evagoras to the lot of those who inherit kingdoms from their forefathers?'
τῶν . . . παραλαβόντων is equivalent to τῶν πραγμάτων τῶν . . . παραλαβόντων, see note on § 34 πρὸς ἕκαστον αὐτῶν. παραλαμβάνειν has a slightly different sense in § 47 παραλαβὼν τὴν πόλιν, 'when he took over the government,' and in *N. C.* 28 where παραλαβὼν means

'taking along with him'. τῶν παραλαβόντων is gen. after the comparative idea contained in προκρίνειν.

ῥάθυμος : lit. (ῥάδιος θυμός) 'easy in mind'. The meaning depends on the context ; here, Clarke well translates 'indifferent to fame'. It can be used in a good sense 'free from anxiety' (cp. § 42 ῥαθυμιῶν) ; or in a bad sense 'idle' (cp. § 45 ῥαθυμίας, and § 75 and *ad N.* 10 ῥαθυμῆιν).

οὕτω ῥάθυμος ὅστις : the relative (ὅς or ὅστις) in Greek can be used like the Latin *qui* to introduce a consecutive clause ; cp. § 80 τοιαῦτα καὶ λέγειν καὶ γράφειν, ἐξ ὧν μέλλομέν σε παροξύνειν.

36 καθόδων : see note on § 28.

παρ' αὐτῶν καινὰς συντιθέασιν, 'invent imaginary instances out of their own heads.'

ὅστις : an antecedent, such as τίνα or οὐδένα, must be supplied as the object of μεμυθολόγηκεν ; cp. § 26 ἐξ ὧν δ' οἶόν τ' ἦν κτέ. and note.

ποιησάμενος . . . πεποιήνται : the ὁμωνυμία or play on the two meanings of ποιεῖν (1) to 'do', (2) to 'compose poetry', cannot be kept up in English. Sandys, on *Paneg.* 186, quotes Plato, *Lysis* 206 B σκόπει . . . ὅπως μὴ πᾶσι τούτοις ἔνοχον σπαντὸν ποιήσης διὰ τὴνποίησιν, and Ben Jonson, *Trans. of Horace, Ars Poetica* 317 *And I shall bid the learned maker (i.e. poet) looke On life and manners and make these his book.* Similar plays on words are found with ἀρχή (*N. C.* 28, *Paneg.* 119), αἰτία (*Ep.* vi. 3), λόγος (*Panath.* 22), χάρις (*Ep.* ii. 6). Here ποιησάμενος means 'having brought upon himself', lit. 'having made for himself'; πεποιήνται, 'are represented' (by the poets), cp. ποιῆσαι, § 9.

εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ : sc. γῆν.

περιγεγενημένοι τῶν ἐχθρῶν, 'getting the better of their enemies.' Verbs of ruling, conquering (ἄρχειν, κρατεῖν, βασιλεύειν, &c.), and leading (ἡγείσθαι) take a genitive. περιγίγνεσθαι means either (1) 'to be superior to', with an object in the gen. (as here and § 44), or, absolutely, 'to be victorious' (as in § 55 and *ad N.* 25); or (2) 'to live beyond', so 'survive'.

37-39 *In historical times Cyrus is the most famous example of a king who won a kingdom ; but, in the first place, he had a large army of Persians, while Evagoras conquered by his personal valour, and, secondly, Cyrus was less particular in the means which he em-*

ployed. In fact, no mortal or immortal hero ever acquired a throne so honourably as Evagoras.

- 37 ἐπὶ τάδε, 'nearer our own day,' i.e. living in historical times as opposed to the mythical heroes of the poets. ἐπὶ τάδε is the opposite of ἐπέκεινα, § 6 and note.

τὸν Μήδων ἀφελόμενον τὴν ἀρχήν, 'who deprived the Medes of their kingdom' in 559 B.C. Three constructions are found with ἀφαιρῆσθαι: (1) (most commonly) double acc. of person and thing; (2) acc. of the thing and dat. of the person; (3) (as here) acc. of the thing and gen. of the person.

καὶ πλείστοι καὶ μάλιστα: for this union of an adj. and an adv. Schneider compares *N. C.* 13 ἔχω τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐ παρανόμως οὐδ' ἄλλοτρίαν, and ib. 47 ἐκόντας καὶ προθύμως.

διὰ τῆς ψυχῆς τῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ σώματος . . . διαπραξάμενος: this appears to be a more emphatic periphrasis for the common δι' αὐτοῦ πράττειν τι, 'to do something by one's self, unassisted'; trans. 'by his own spirit and in his own person'. For ψυχῇ in Isocr. see note on § 23.

- τῶν προειρημένων, 'the achievements which we have described.'
- 38 οὐπω δῆλον: lit. 'not yet clear', we should say 'not quite clear'.
τῶν τούτῳ πεπραγμένων: the dat. of the agent; cp. ἐκείνῳ (§ 2 and note), and below, τῷ μὲν . . . πέπρακται.

τὸν πατέρα τὸν τῆς μητρός: Astyages whose daughter Mandane married Cambyses, father of Cyrus. No other writer tells us that Cyrus put Astyages to death; on the contrary according to Herod. (i. 130), 'Cyrus did no harm to Astyages but kept him with him until he died.'

- 39 μηδὲν ὑποστειλάμενον, 'without any reservations.' The metaphor is originally a nautical one, ὑποστέλλεσθαι τὰ ἱστία, 'to furl the sails.' It is noticeable that the metaphors used by a nation are generally taken from their characteristic pursuits: in the Attic writers they are usually nautical, gymnastic, or legal.

ἐκείνως . . . εἰ, '(in the following way) . . . if'; cp. § 11 ἐκείθεν and note.

ἐτυράννευσεν, 'came to the throne'; the so-called 'ingressive' aorist.

μεγάλα λέγειν, 'to exaggerate'; cp. § 48 μείζω λέγειν.

ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου, 'recklessly,' lit. 'by any means (I can)', similarly used in *N. C.* 31; *πᾶς* from meaning 'every' often comes to mean 'any', cp. *πανούργος*, 'a scoundrel,' lit. 'one who will do everything' so 'anything'.

οὕτω: qualifies *θρασέως*, its position is probably due to a desire to avoid the *hiatus* which would be caused if it immediately preceded *θρασέως*.

40-41 *If Evagoras had gained distinction by less important achievements, he would yet have deserved praise; but as it is, no poet or orator could adequately extol him. Naturally gifted he left nothing to chance, but always acted with deliberation.*

40 ἐπὶ μικροῖς, 'in unimportant achievements.'

διήνεγκε: used absolutely, 'had distinguished himself'; see note on § 14.

νῦν δέ, 'but as it is.'

ἀγαθῶν: used as a substantive, 'blessings'; cp. Latin *summum bonum*.

σεμνότατον: *σεμνός*, originally of the gods, 'revered', 'solemn', so of human beings and qualities: (1) in a good sense, 'august', 'dignified' (as here and § 44 and *ad N.* 34); (2) in a bad sense, 'pompous', 'proud'. In *N. C.* 42 *σεμνότερος* is opposed to *ταπεινότερος* and means 'of higher birth'. The verb *σεμνύεσθαι* has similar meanings (*ad N.* 34 τοὺς σεμννομένους, 'those who are dignified'; but *σεμνύεσθαι ἐπὶ* (§ 74), 'to pride oneself on').

λόγων εὐρετής: the same expression is found in *Philipp.* 144 τὴν Εὐρυσθέως δύναμιν οὐδεὶς ἂν οὔτε λόγων εὐρετής οὔτε ποιητής ἐπαινέσειεν. *εὐρετής* is used in the sense of 'deviser', cp. *ad N.* 17 *εὐρετής γίγνου τῶν βελτίστων (ἐπιτηδευμάτων)*; *λόγων* is used in the sense of discourse as in § 4. The whole phrase means 'composers of set discourses', such as the *Busiris* and *Helen* of Isocrates. It was the regular practice of the Sophists, the professional teachers of rhetoric, to deliver such declamations (*ἐπιδείξεις*) on subjects taken from the Epic poets or from mythology. See Jebb, *Attic Orators*, ii. 93 ff.

ἀξίως τῶν πεπραγμένων: see note on § 2.

41 οὐ: negatives both the verb and the participle.

ὑπερβαλλόμενος: absolutely, 'excelled,' see note on § 1 *ὑπερβολήν*.

εὐφύεστατος ὦν τὴν γνώμην, 'naturally gifted with the highest intelligence.'

πλείστα κατορθοῦν δυνάμενος, 'able generally to command success.'

ὀλιγωρεῖν: here used absolutely, 'to act rashly' (so in *Areop.* 46); it is more commonly found with a genitive meaning 'to despise', 'overlook' (*N. C.* 18, 48).

αὐτοσχεδιάζειν: (σχέδιος, 'offhand'), 'to act on the spur of the moment.'

εἰ καλῶς . . . παρασκευάσειε, 'if he ordered his own intellect aright.'

θαυμάζων δ' ὅσοι: an antecedent such as *ἐκείνους* must be understood as object of *θαυμάζων*; cp. § 26 ἐξ ὧν δ' οἶόν τ' ἦν κτέ. and note.

τῶν ἄλλων: objective gen. after *ἐπιμέλειαν*, 'care about everything else.'

ἔνεκα τῆς ψυχῆς: *ἔνεκα* more frequently follows the word which it governs. For the meaning of *ψυχή* in Isocr. see note on § 23. As Schneider points out *ψυχῆς* must here mean 'life'; but in *αὐτῆς ταύτης* which is used to avoid a repetition of *ψυχῆς*, another aspect of *ψυχή*, namely, 'the mind,' is predominant; we must use different words in English to make the meaning clear.

2-46 *His energy, impartiality, and humanity were the admiration of all who visited Cyprus during his reign. He was just and consistent and never spared himself in the service of the state; in short, he possessed the ideal qualifications not only of a monarch, but also of a popular leader, an administrator, and a general.*

42 τῶν πραγμάτων: the 'events' of daily life. Isocr. now turns from describing the qualities which Evagoras displayed when he won the kingdom to those which marked the fulfilment of his duties as king.

τῶν ὄντων: can only mean 'the facts of life'; Blass suggests τῶν παρόντων, 'the circumstances before them,' which gives a clearer sense.

ῥαθυμιῶν . . . ἀργίαις . . . εὐπραγίαις: for these plurals cp. ταῖς ἀληθείαις, § 5 and note.

ῥαθυμιῶν: see note on ῥάθυμος, § 35.

φθάνειν: lit. 'overtake', 'anticipate'; it is here used absolutely 'to take unawares' (it is similarly coupled with *λανθάνειν* in *N. C.* 22,

where see note). It is frequently constructed with a participle (e.g. *Paneg.* 79 φθήσονται τὴν πόλιν ἀγαθόν τι ποιήσαντες, 'they will be the first to benefit the city'). For οὐ φθάνειν and a participle followed by καί see § 53.

μήτε . . . λανθάνειν, 'were well known to him.' λανθάνειν, lit. 'escape notice', is used either absolutely (as here and *N. C.* 22), or followed by the acc. 'to be unnoticed by some one' (as in 78 οὐ γὰρ ἐμέ λέληθας, ὅτι, 'I did not fail to notice that you,' &c., and *N. C.* 51 ἡγείσθω μηδ' ἐμέ λήσσειν, 'remember that it will not escape my notice either'), or with participle (as in *N. C.* 41 λανθάνουσιν . . . διαφορὰς ἐγκαταλείποντες, lit. 'escape notice storing up quarrels for themselves', i.e. 'are unawares storing up strife'). λανθάνεσθαι (middle) means 'to forget' (followed by the gen.).

ἐξ ὧν: relational attraction for ἐξ ἐκείνων ᾧ. ἑτέρων is gen. of the person after ἡκουεν, 'from others.'

- 43 αὐτὸν καταστήσας, 'having established himself in,' so 'having engaged himself in'.

οὐδὲ περὶ τῶν . . . οὐδέ περὶ ἐν: the first οὐδέ goes with the whole sentence, the second goes closely with the ἐν (οὐδέ περὶ ἐν being a more emphatic form of περὶ οὐδέν). For the *hiatus* see note on § 3. περὶ with the genitive 'concerning', with the acc. 'in the case of'.

πεπλανημένως εἶχεν, 'made a mistake'; for the use of ἔχω see note on ὥσπερ εἶχεν, § 30. For adverbs formed from participles cp. ὁμολογουμένως (§ 67), ἀπροχρώντως, προσηκόντως (*N. C.* 27), ἐρρωμενεστέρος (*ad N.* 14), πρεπόντως (*Panath.* 31), &c.

τοὺς εἰσαφικνουμένους, 'visitors to the island.' We are told (§ 51 and note) that a number of Greeks took up their abode in Cyprus. Andocides the orator visited the island about 410 B.C., when Evagoras had probably recently become king; he presumably was not among those who spoke with enthusiasm of Evagoras' rule, for he was thrown into prison for a crime committed there ([Lysias], *contra Andoc.* 28 ff.).

μη μᾶλλον . . . ἤ, 'not more than,' i.e. 'not so much . . . as'; 'did not so much envy Evagoras for being king as his subjects for being ruled by him' (τοὺς ἄλλους = τοὺς ἀρχομένους, which, indeed, is read by Stobaeus (*Flor.* 48, 50) who quotes the passage); cp. *N. C.* 55 θαρρεῖτε μὴ μᾶλλον διὰ τὴν πραότητα τὴν ἐμὴν ἢ διὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν αὐτῶν ἀρετὴν.

Εὐαγόραν τῆς ἀρχῆς ζηλοῦν: ζηλοῦν is regularly constructed with the acc. of the person and the (causal) gen. of the thing; similarly θαυμάζειν, οἰκτερεῖν, φθονεῖν, στυγεῖν, and other verbs expressing *emotion*; cp. Soph. *El.* 1027 ζηλῶ σε τοῦ νοῦ, τῆς δὲ δειλίας στυγῶ.

τῆς ὑπ' ἐκείνου βασιλείας: ὑπό with the gen. can be used to denote the agent with a substantive which has a *passive* significance. Schneider quotes Thuc. ii. 65 λόγῳ μὲν δημοκρατία, ἔργῳ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ πρώτου ἀνδρὸς ἀρχή.

- 44 τῶν χρωμένων, 'his intimate friends.' χρῆσθαι (like the Latin *uti*) originally means 'to be in a certain relation to', so 'to have to do with', so here 'to treat as a friend'; cp. *ad Demon.* 20 χρῶ τοῖς βελτίστοις and *ad N.* 27 τοῖς χρωμένοις.

ἡττώμενος, 'being inferior to', so 'being conquered by', translate 'giving way to'; cp. τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν ἡττωμένους, *N. C.* 39.

τῶν ἐχθρῶν περιγιγνόμενος: see note on § 36.

σεμνός: see note on § 40.

ταῖς τοῦ προσώπου συναγωγαῖς: lit. 'by drawings together of his face', so 'knitting the brows'. κατασκευαῖς: the usual meaning of κατασκευή is 'furniture', 'apparatus', 'equipment' (cp. *ad N.* 19), esp. in the sense of 'buildings', 'fixtures' (cp. § 47 and note), hence 'fundamental principle'; here it means 'arrangement', 'method', cp. Plato, *Legg.* 736 B πολιτικὴ κατασκευή. Freese translates, 'showing his dignity, not by knitted brows, but by his manner of life.'

οὐδὲ πρὸς ἔν: a stronger form of πρὸς οὐδέν; cp. οὐδὲ περὶ ἔν, § 43.

ἀτάκτως οὐδ' ἀνωμάλως διακείμενος: lit. 'irregularly or unevenly disposed', i.e. 'behaving capriciously or inconsistently'. For ἀνωμάλως cp. ἀνωμαλίας (*ad N.* 6).

ὁμοίως τὰς ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις ὁμολογίας κτέ., 'preserving consistency, alike in word and deed.' The commonest meaning of ὁμολογία is 'agreement' (in the sense of 'assent' and 'compact'), 'admission', 'confession'. Here τὰς ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις ὁμολογίας means that his acts agreed with one another, i.e. were consistent with one another; compare the use of the verb ὁμολογεῖν in *ad N.* 17 σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ὁμολογουμένους, 'consistent with one another.'

- 45 μέγα φρονῶν . . . ἐπί, 'priding himself on'; cp. σεμνύνεσθαι ἐπί (§ 74).

ὑφ' αὐτῷ ποιούμενος, 'attaching to himself.'

τῷ πολλοῖς χαλεπαίνειν, 'by a frequent display of harshness,' lit. 'by being harsh to many'.

ὑπερβάλλειν : see note on ὑπερβολήν, § 1.

ἡγούμενος τῶν ἡδονῶν, 'controlling his pleasures,' lit. 'leading'. ἡγεῖσθαι like the Latin *ducere* means (1) to 'lead', in which case it is followed by a genitive, or dative when used of an army or fleet (never in Isocrates); (2) 'to consider' (often followed by double accusative, as in *ad N.* 25, 28, &c., *N. C.* 10, 58).

ῥαθυμίας : see note on ῥάθυμος, § 35.

46 ὧν : relational attraction for ἐκείνων ᾧ, see note on ἦς (§ 11).

ὧν προσεῖναι δεῖ : lit. 'of those things which ought to attach to', so 'of the proper qualities of'.

ἐκάστης τῆς πολιτείας, 'every kind of political activity' (Clarke). πολιτεία means originally 'the condition of a citizen', so (1) the duties of a citizen (*N. C.* 10) 'political activity' (as here), 'political power' (§ 66), 'political rights' (*N. C.* 15), 'statesmanship' (cp. the use of πολιτικός, below); (2) 'form of government', 'constitution' (§ 51, *ad N.* 8, 16, *N. C.* 12, 14, 16, 22, &c.).

δημοτικός . . . πολιτικός . . . στρατηγικός . . . τυραννικός. The termination -ικός implies 'fitness' or 'capability'; trans. 'popular leader . . . capable administrator . . . able general . . . ideal monarch'.

θεραπεία, 'devotion to'; see note on θεραπεύειν, § 28.

πολιτικός : see note on § 10.

τυραννικός : for the reading see critical note. It is hardly conceivable that Isocrates wrote δημοτικός . . . πολιτικός . . . στρατηγικός . . . μεγαλόφρων. τύραννος is not necessarily a term of reproach, but merely means an 'unconstitutional monarch'; so τυραννικός here is used in a good sense; cp. *ad N.* 53, where it means 'princely', 'royal'.

διαφέρειν : used absolutely, see note on διήνεγκεν, § 14.

προσῆν : see above ὧν προσεῖναι δεῖ.

47-50 *Evagoras found the city completely barbarized, without arts or commerce; he built new fortifications and public buildings, and constructed ships. In particular, he introduced Greek culture, which quickly took root and flourished; numerous Greeks settled in*

the island, whereas under Phoenician influence no intercourse with Greece had been allowed.

- 47 παραλαβών: see note on § 35.

διὰ τὴν Φοινίκων ἀρχήν: for Phoenician influence in Cyprus see *Intro.* p. 18.

προσεκτήσατο . . . προσπεριεβάλετο: note the force of *πρός* in composition with verbs, 'he acquired much *fresh* territory . . . he had *new* walls built.'

τριήρεις ἐναυπηγήσατο: the force of *ναύς* in *ἐναυπηγήσατο* is redundant; Schneider compares *νέκταρ οἶνοχοεῖν* (*Hom. Il.* iv. 3) and—a still more striking example—*βουκολεῖν ἵππους* (*ib.* xx. 221).

ταῖς ἄλλαις κατασκευαῖς: *κατασκευαῖ* (see note on § 44) applied to a city means 'equipment'; the reference here is probably to theatres, gymnasia, public baths built by Evagoras.

ἀπολελείφθαι: see note on § 18 οὐδενός . . . ἀπολειφθέντος.

- 48 τηλικαύτας: see notes on §§ 19 and 22.

ἐπιδόσεις: see note on § 7.

ἥθεσιν: *ἥθη* from meaning 'customs' comes to mean, as here, 'characteristics', 'qualities', of an individual.

οἷσις: the relative is attracted from the acc. (*οἷα*) to the case of the antecedent; cp. *ἦς* (§ 11) and *ὧν* (§ 46) and notes.

πρότερον: i.e. in §§ 22–4.

μείζω λέγων: cp. *μεγάλα λέγειν*, § 39.

διελθεῖν: cp. § 12 note.

πολύ λίαν ἀπολειφθῶ: the more natural order would be *λίαν πολὺ*, but this would cause a *hiatus*.

ἀπολειφθῶ: see note on § 18 οὐδενός . . . ἀπολειφθέντος.

τῶν πεπραγμένων αὐτῷ: for the dative see note on § 2 *ἐκείνῳ*.

- 49 ἐφίκοιτο, 'reach to,' so 'adequately describe', 'do justice to'; cp. *Paneg.* 187 τότε μὲν γὰρ ᾧ μὴν ἀξίως δυνήσεσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων εἰπεῖν νῦν δ' οὐκ ἐφικνοῦμαι τοῦ μεγέθους αὐτῶν, 'I thought then that I should be able to speak in a manner worthy of my subject; but now I cannot do justice to its importance.' Jebb compares the use of the Latin *consequi*.

φύσεως: here of 'natural qualities', 'character', 'talents'.

ὅς: an antecedent such as *αὐτοῦ* must be supplied. *ὅς* is here *causal* 'in as much as he' (Latin *quippe qui*).

τὸν τόπον ὅλον τὸν περιέχοντα τὴν νῆσον: i. e. the mainland of Cilicia and Lycia and possibly Phoenicia. Some editors (see critical note) omit τὴν νῆσον, in which case the phrase will mean the districts of Cyprus round Salamis; this is, however, unnecessary, and the words are a characteristic exaggeration on the part of the author. With the exception of a few colonies, Greek influence in south-eastern Asia Minor was very slight until the time of Alexander the Great.

ἀπροσσίτως καὶ χαλεπῶς εἶχον, 'were unsociable and intractable'; the Scholiast paraphrases, μὴ προσδεχόμενοι τινὰς τῶν Ἑλλήνων. For εἶχεν with an adverb see note on ὥσπερ εἶχε, § 30.

- 50 μεταπεπτώκασιν, 'they are so entirely changed.' μετά when compounded with a verb implies either (1) 'change' as here and in μεταλλάττειν (§ 15); (2) 'pursuit', as in μεταπέμπεσθαι (*ad N.* 13), 'to send to fetch' (from the meaning of μετά with the acc. 'after'). μεταπίπτειν implies *violent change*.

οἷτινες . . . δόξουσι: indirect question depending on ἀμιλλᾶσθαι.

κτήμασι, 'possessions,' in particular 'works of art'.

τῶν περὶ τὴν μουσικὴν: cp. §§ 1 and 4 notes. μουσική is here used in its widest sense to include literature and art.

διατρίβειν, 'live'; see note on § 31.

ἢ παρ' οἷς πρότερον εἰωθότες ἦσαν: sc. διατρίβειν. παρ' οἷς for παρ' ἐκείνοις παρ' οἷς; 'more men interested in literature and culture in general live in these parts than in the communities in which they formerly used to dwell,' i. e. in the old centres of Greek culture,—an intolerable exaggeration on the part of Isocrates.

- 51-56 *Many Greeks showed their appreciation of Evagoras by settling in Cyprus. Conon, in particular, after his defeat at Aegospotami sought his assistance. When the Spartans sent Agesilaus to Asia, Conon and Evagoras co-operated with the Persian commander Pharnabazus and defeated the Spartans at Cnidus. The result was that Greece was freed and Athens again became head of a maritime league.*

- 51 μέγιστον δὲ τεκμήριον . . . τῶν γὰρ Ἑλλήνων: see note on σημεῖον δὲ μέγιστον, § 8.

καὶ τοῦ τρόπου καὶ τῆς δσιότητος, 'both of his general character and of his uprightness.' The δσιότης is part of the τρόπος: Schneider

compares Plut. *Timol.* 31 ποιήματα γράφειν καὶ τραγῳδίας, 'to write poems including tragedies,' and the Homeric Τρῶές τε καὶ Ἑκτώρ.

καλοὶ καγαθοί, 'worthy citizens.' καλὸς καγαθός was originally a distinctive class-name meaning 'a man of noble birth' (cp. Old French *prud'homme*) ; but later it came to mean one possessing the ideal qualities of a citizen, almost equivalent to the English 'gentleman'. καλός, originally applied to beauty of *outward form*, comes to be used also of *moral* beauty, τὸ καλόν being equivalent to the Latin *honestum* ; it was the aesthetic aspect of morality which especially appealed to the Greeks.

τὰς αὐτῶν πατρίδας ἀπολιπόντες : when the Thirty Tyrants gained the upper hand in Athens and falsely accused their opponents and confiscated their property, many of the better citizens fled for their lives ; in other cities too the Spartans set up oligarchical government, and citizens who had leanings towards Athens and democracy went into exile.

πολιτειῶν : see note on § 46.

πολὺ ἄν : with this conjunction of words Isocrates habitually admits a *hiatus* ; cp. § 65.

- 52 Κόνωνα . . . τίς οὐκ οἶδεν, ὅτι : for this construction cp. § 6 οὐδ' οὐκ ἴσασι εἰ, and note.

δυστυχιστάσης τῆς πόλεως : see critical note. The reference is to the defeat of the Athenians under Conon by the Spartans under Lysander at Aegospotami on the Hellespont in 405 B.C.

ἐκλεξάμενος : sc. αὐτόν from ὡς Εὐαγόραν.

ἄν . . . γενέσθαι : Conon's actual thought, τάχιστα ἂν Εὐαγόρας γένοιτο βοηθός, is thrown into an indirect form after νομίσας, γένοιτο becoming infin. and the ἄν being retained.

οὐδὲ περὶ ἑνός : a more emphatic form of περὶ οὐδενός ; cp. οὐδὲ πρὸς ἔν, § 44. For the *hiatus* after περὶ cp. περὶ αὐτῶν, § 3 and note.

- 53 συνέβη γὰρ αὐτῷ κτε., 'for the result of his arrival in Cyprus was that . . .'

οὐκ ἔφθασαν ἀλλήλοις πλησιάζαντες καί, 'they no sooner met one another than . . .' For φθάνειν see note on § 42. οὐ φθάνειν with a participle followed by καί and a verb in the indicative is used to express two actions following closely upon one another ; cp. *Paneg.* 86 οὐκ ἔφθασαν πυθόμενοι τὸν περὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν πόλεμον καὶ . . . ἤκον, 'they no sooner heard of the war in Attica than they came.'

σφᾶς αὐτοῦς: *reflexive* pronouns in Greek are used sometimes in place of *reciprocal* pronouns; cp. § 57 σφῶν αὐτῶν, and *ad N.* 17 σφίσιν αὐτοῖς. *se* is used similarly in Latin.

- 54 μεγάλη μεταβολή κεχρημένην, 'had undergone a great change.' χρῆσθαι (like *uti* in Latin) means originally 'to be in a certain relation to' (see § 44), so either (1) in a good sense, 'to enjoy,' cp. χρῆσθαι γαλαεῖα (Eur. *I. A.* 546), 'to enjoy calm weather'; or (2) in a bad sense 'to suffer', cp. δυστυχία χρῆσθαι.

ἀμφοτέροι προσήκοντα ποιούντες: lit. 'both doing what was fitting', so 'both of them with good cause'.

φύσει, 'by birth,' as in § 12.

τὸν δὲ . . . πολίτην ἐπεποιήντο: the conferment of Athenian citizenship upon Evagoras is alluded to by Demosthenes (xii. 10) ὑμεῖς ἔδοτε πολιτείαν Εὐαγόρα τῷ Κυπρίῳ καὶ Διονυσίῳ τῷ Συρακοσίῳ καὶ τοῖς ἐγγόνοις τοῖς ἐκείνων.

νόμῳ: in Greek νόμος is continually contrasted with φύσις.

σκοπούμενοις . . . ὅπως . . . ἀπαλλάξουσιν: see note on § 25 ἔσχεν αὐτοῦ πρόνοιαν ὅπως λήψεται.

ταχύν: predicative.

εἰς τοῦτ' ἀπληστίας: cp. § 27 εἰς τοσοῦτον μεγαλοφροσύνης and note.

ἐπεχείρησαν: under the command of Agesilaus, King of Sparta.

- 55 βασιλέως: for the omission of the article see note on § 20. The King of Persia referred to is Artaxerxes II (Mnemon), who ruled from 404-361 B.C.

ὅ τι χρήσονται τοῖς πράγμασι: deliberative subjunctive, 'how to deal with the situation.'

περιγένοιτο: see note on § 36.

τὴν ἥπειρον: i.e. Asia Minor. Schneider quotes Harpocration p. 93 (Bekker) to show that Isocr. regularly uses ἥπειρος to denote the territory of the King of Persia.

- 56 κατεναυμαχήθησαν, 'were defeated at sea.' With this force of *κατά* in composition compare that of *de* in the Latin *debellare*. The reference is to the victory won by the Athenian and Persian fleets at Cnidus in August 394 B.C. under the leadership of Conon and Pharnabazus, whereby they destroyed the maritime power of Sparta.

ἡ δὲ πόλις ἡμῶν κτέ. On the return of Conon to Athens the Long

Walls were rebuilt and the Peiraeus refortified. In 395 B.C. Athens had taken the decisive step of forming an alliance with Thebes; after Cnidus some of her former allies, who had belonged to the Delian confederacy, again joined her, and Delos itself was recovered. It seemed for the moment to the Athenians that their former maritime supremacy was to be renewed.

τοῦτο παρασχόντος: see critical note. The phrase must mean lit. 'Evagoras having provided this', so, 'it was Evagoras who rendered it possible' (F.). αὐτὸν παρασχόντος would mean 'having lent his personal service', but αὐτὸν παρέχειν is generally used with an adjective in agreement; cp. *ad N.* 20 ἀν' ὡς βέλτιστον καὶ δικαίω-
τατον σαντὸν παρέχης, 'if you show yourself as good and just as possible.'

7-64 *Athens showed her appreciation of Evagoras by setting up his statue. His achievements frightened the King of Persia much more than Cyrus had done. During the Cyprian war he spent 15,000 talents in ten years in trying to subdue him. Evagoras actually increased his territory and invaded Phoenicia, so that at last the Great King was only too glad to make peace, having never been able to capture Salamis with a vast armament, though Evagoras had seized it with only fifty men.*

57 οὐπὲρ κτέ.: namely in the Ceramicus near the στοὰ βασιλείου or Royal Portico; cp. Paus. i. 3. 2, 'Near the Portico stand Conon and Timotheus, son of Conon, and Evagoras, King of the Cyprians, who carried out the negotiations by which the Phoenician triremes were lent to Conon by King Artaxerxes. Evagoras acted as an Athenian citizen, for his family came originally from Salamis, and he traced his descent from Teucer and the daughter of Kinyras. Here too stands Zeus, called Eleutherios.' The Ceramicus, 'Potters' Quarter,' was situated partly inside the walls of Athens, and partly outside them, near the Dipylon Gate. The στοὰ βασιλείου was inside the walls between this gate and the so-called 'Theseum'; its exact site is uncertain. (See Harrison and Verrall, *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, pp. 14-24.) An account of the distinction conferred on Conon is given by Demosthenes (*in Lept.* 68-74), from which we learn (§ 70) that the statue of Conon was of bronze; doubtless that of Evagoras was of the same material.

σφῶν αὐτῶν : see note on § 53 σφᾶς αὐτοῦς.

κατηργάσαντο : another form of *κατειργάσαντο*, found also in inscriptions (see Meisterhans-Schwyzler, *Gram. der Attischen Inschriften*³, p. 171).

περὶ μὲν οὖν Κόνωνος ἄλλος ἡμῖν ἔσται λόγος : these words seem to imply that Isocrates intended to write an encomium upon Conon, a project which he does not appear to have carried out. Such a work may have been suggested by his close friendship with Conon's son, Timotheus (*Antidos*. 101).

ὅτι δὲ . . . λαθεῖν : lit. 'he did not seek to escape notice, that such was his feeling towards Evagoras', we should say, 'he did not try to conceal that,' &c. For *λανθάνειν* see note on § 42.

58 τὸν ἐν Κύπρῳ πόλεμον : for the Cyprian war see Introduction, p. 20.

Κύρον τὸν περὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἀμφισβητήσαντα : the reference is to the famous expedition of Cyrus, described by Xenophon (*Anab.* i), when he attempted to win the kingdom of Persia from his brother Artaxerxes II, and perished at the battle of Cunaxa (401 B.C.).

μέγιστον δὲ τεκμήριον τοῦ γάρ : see note on § 8 σημείον δὲ μέγιστον.

τοῦ μὲν : i. e. Cyrus.

μικροῦ δεῖν, 'almost.' For the genitive see note on *τοσούτου* δέω, § 21. The infinitive is an absolute infinitive, used parenthetically with or without ὥς (cp. ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν or ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν); *μικροῦ δεῖν* is lit. 'to want but little', so 'almost'. By an ellipse we also get *μικροῦ* and *ὀλίγου* (*δεῖν* being omitted); cp. Plato, *Rep.* 552 D *ὀλίγου πάντες*, 'almost all.'

μικροῦ δεῖν ἔλαθεν κτέ., 'he almost appeared before his palace before he was aware of him,' lit. 'almost escaped notice appearing', &c. According to Xenophon the battle was fought 360 stades (about 45 miles) from Babylon.

ἐπὶ τὸ βασιλεῖον ἐπιστάς : for this use of the intrans. tenses of *ἐφίστημι* cp. *de Pace* 41 *ἐξαίφνης ἐπιστὰς τοῖς γυγνομένοις*, 'suddenly appearing on the scene of action'; it is also used of appearances in dreams (*Helen.* 65).

πρὸς δὲ τοῦτον : i. e. Evagoras.

ἐκ πολλοῦ : we should say, 'for a long time.'

μεταξὺ πάσχων εὖ, 'at a time when he was receiving kindness at

his hands.' *μεταξύ* is used with a participle when the action of the principal verb occurs at a point of time during the action described by the participle; similarly *ἅμα* with the participle implies contemporaneous action of the participle and principal verb. The position of *εὖ* is due to a desire to avoid hiatus; cp. *N. C.* 7 τοῦ φρονεῖν εὖ.

- 59 *ἐκ ταπεινῶν καὶ φαύλων πραγμάτων*, 'starting from humble and lowly circumstances.' For this use of *ἐκ* cp. § 66 *ἐξ ιδιῶτου τύραννον* . . . *ἐκ βαρβάρων Ἑλλήνας*, and *Soph. O. T.* 454 *τυφλὸς ἐκ δεδορκότος ἐπιδόσεις*: see note on § 7.

οὐ κατὰ μικρὸν γιγνομένης: either (1) 'were anything but gradual', lit. 'were not taking place little by little', in which case *κατὰ* is used *distributively* (cp. *καθ' ἓνα*, 'one by one'); or (2) 'were not inconsiderable', *κατὰ* being used in the sense of 'according to' and *κατὰ μικρὸν* meaning 'on a small scale'. The former seems to make the best sense here. In *N. C.* 10 *κατὰ μικρὸν* is used in the latter sense, and may be translated 'to a small extent'.

- 60 *οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῶν γεγενημένων ὀργιζόμενος*: the reference is to the hostilities in Cyprus itself, where Soli and Citium had appealed to Persia against Evagoras.

πολὺ περὶ μειζόνων: this order of words is more emphatic than the more usual *περὶ πολὺ μειζόνων*.

ῥωμησεν, 'threw himself into the war.' *ὀρμᾶν* can be used in the active either (1) transitively 'to set in motion', or (2), as here, intransitively 'to set oneself in motion'.

τάλαντα πεντακισχίλια: about £1,200,000.

- 61 *πάσαις ἀπολελειμμένους ταῖς δυνάμεσιν*: see note on § 18 *οὐδενὸς δὲ τῶν ὀνομαστῶν ἀπολειφθέντος*.

ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοις: i. e. *ἢ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις*.

- 62 *Πνυταγόραν*: when Evagoras was defeated at sea in 386 B. C., his younger son Pnytagoras held Salamis while his father went to Egypt to get help.

μικροῦ μὲν ἰδέησε: personal construction, see note on § 21 *τοσοῦτου δέω*.

Κύπρον ἅπασαν: we have evidence of the extension of Evagoras' rule in Cyprus in the fact that he probably issued a silver coinage at Amathus in the south of Cyprus about 391 B. C. (see *Brit. Mus. Cat. of Coins of Cyprus*, p. 3).

Φοινίκην δ' ἐπόρθησε κτέ. : cp. *Paneg.* 161, 'Have not Egypt and Cyprus revolted from him (the King of Persia), Phoenicia and Syria been desolated by the war, and Tyre, on which he greatly prided himself, been seized by his enemies (i.e. Evagoras and the Cyprians)? And of the cities of Cilicia the majority are held by our supporters.'

- 63 τελευτῶν, 'finally'; an idiomatic use of the participle in an adverbial sense; cp. ὅπερ ἀρχόμενος εἶπον (*ad N.* 54), 'as I said at first.' ἐνέπλησεν αὐτοὺς τοῦ πολεμεῖν, 'gave them their fill of fighting.' τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον : see note on § 27.

τὴν εἰρήνην ἐποιήσαντο : according to Diodor. (15. 9), Evagoras was to be King of Salamis and to pay a fixed tribute, and to be subject to the King of Persia, 'as a king obeying the commands of a king' (ὥς βασιλεὺς βασιλεῖ προστάττοντι).

- 64 κινήσαντες : see note on κινεῖν, § 7.

ἀφείλετο : the subject is the King of Persia. It is a gross exaggeration on the part of Isocrates to represent the sea victory won by Conon and the allied Athenian and Persian fleets at Cnidus as having overthrown the power of Sparta. It put an end to their supremacy at sea, but their land empire lasted until the battle of Leuctra (371 B.C.).

ὃ δὲ πάντων δεινότατον τὴν γὰρ : see note on σημείον δὲ μέγιστον, § 8.

- 65-69 *Evagoras deserves even higher praise than the heroes who besieged Troy; they aided by all Greece captured one city in Asia, while Evagoras with only one city made war on all Asia. He restored his family on the throne and rescued Cyprus from barbarism, and his achievements in the Cyprian war will never be forgotten, while by his assistance Greece was delivered from the bondage of Sparta. It is difficult to decide which of his deeds deserves the highest praise.*

- 65 ὑπερβαλόμενος : see note on ὑπερβολήν, § 1.

ὑμνούμενον : see note on ὑμνουμένους, § 6.

τοσοῦτοι τὸ πλῆθος : see note on τὸ μέγεθος, § 19.

πολὺ ἂν : for the *hiatus* cp. § 51.

- 66 τίνα γὰρ εὐρήσομεν . . . εἰ . . . σκοποῖμεν : a slightly irregular but

perfectly natural condition, 'whom shall we find, if we were to look?'
Cp. *ad N.* 45 εἰ 'θέλομεν . . . εὐρήσομεν.

ἐξ ιδιώτου τύραννον . . . ἐκ βαρβάρων Ἑλλήνας: see note on ἐκ ταπεινῶν καὶ φαύλων πραγμάτων, § 59.

τὸ δὲ γένος, 'his family.'

πολιτείας: see note on § 46.

- 67 ἀμεικτον: this form rather than ἀμικτον is found in the best MS. (cp. *Sophist.* 16 μείξαι). A similar spelling is found in the papyrus of the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*, xiv. I συμμείξαι, and in inscriptions, see Meisterhans-Schwyzler, *Gram. der Attischen Inschriften*³, p. 181. ἀμεικτος means either (1) 'not mixing', so 'unsociable', 'having no intercourse with strangers', as here (= τοὺς Ἑλλήνας οὐ προσδεχόμενον, § 47) and of the Cyclops (*Eur. Cycl.* 428), or (2) passively, 'unmixed', 'pure'.

ὁμολογουμένως: see note on πεπλανωμένως, § 43.

- 68 ἀπάσης τῆς Ἀσίας κύριος κατέστη. Clarke is probably right in referring this to the immediate result of the battle of Cnidus rather than to the Peace of Antalcidas (387 B. C.), as Schneider takes it.

ἡπειρον: see note on § 55.

ἐπέδοσαν: see note on ἐπιδόσεις, § 7.

τοὺς πρότερον αὐτῶν ἀρχοντας κτέ.: Isocr. (*Areop.* 65) tells us that after the battle of Cnidus 'ambassadors came from the Lacedaemonians offering to hand over to Athens the command of the sea'.

- 69 πότερον: strictly speaking means 'which of *two* alternatives' (Latin *utrum*) but is here, as often, followed by several alternatives introduced by ἢ . . . ἢ . . .

καθ' ὃ τι ἄν: Isocrates regularly admits a *hiatus* in this phrase; cp. *ad N.* §§ 28 and 35.

καθ' ὃ τι ἄν ἐπιστήσω τὴν γνώμην: 1st aor. subj. in an indefinite clause, 'to which ever I turn my attention'; ἐφιστάμαι is more often used by itself in this meaning; cp. the omission of τὸν νοῦν in the phrase προσέχειν (τὸν νοῦν).

- ο-72 If any one ever deserved immortality, Evagoras is worthy of it. Most heroes have suffered some calamity, but Evagoras was uniformly successful and happy. He was well born; he lived to a ripe old age; he was blessed with numerous children, who were worthy

of such a father. If any one was ever a god among men, Evagoras deserves such a title.

70 ἐνθάδε, 'here on earth,' as in § 2.

τῶν ἡμιθέων : Isocr. is probably thinking of Heracles, the hero *par excellence* of Greek mythology.

71 τί γὰρ ἀπέλιπεν εὐδαιμονίας, 'in what respect did he lack happiness?' Evagoras is the subject, τί is an adverbial acc., and εὐδαιμονίας a partitive gen. For the various uses of ἀπολείπειν see note on § 18.

τοιούτων προγόνων : cp. §§ 13-18.

πλὴν εἴ τις ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐκείνῳ γέγονεν, 'unless he were a member of the same family.' ἐκείνῳ dat. after τῶν αὐτῶν ; cp. τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην τοῖς . . . περιπίπτουσι, § 27.

διήνεγκεν : see note on § 14.

περὶ αὐτοῦ : for the *hiatus* see note on § 3.

τοσοῦτον δ' ἐβίω χρένον : on the death of Evagoras see *Intro.* p. 20.

ἡλικίαν : see note on τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν, § 22.

72 εὐπαιδίας : 'the possession of a goodly offspring' was regarded by the Greeks as one of the greatest blessings which the gods could bestow on mortals ; cp. *Busiris* 41 τῆς μὲν ἡμετέρας εὐπαιδίας εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς τὴν αἰτίαν ἀναφέρομεν, and *Aristoph. Wasps* 1512 ὦ μακάριε τῆς εὐπαιδίας.

οὐδέν : the masc. οὐδένα (see critical note) would be more natural, but this use of the neuter for masculine is not uncommon in Greek. Firstly, the neuter singular is used *collectively*, e.g. τὸ ἄλλο Ἑλληνικόν (= οἱ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες) (*Thuc.* iv. 20), τὸ ἀνθρώπειον (= οἱ ἄνθρωποι) (*ib.* 61) ; secondly, the neuter plural is often used as equivalent to a masculine plural, e.g. τᾶλλα (= τοὺς ἄλλους) (*Aristoph. Ranae* 809, *Lysistr.* 860), ἀγαθοὺς ἀνδριαντοποιοὺς καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ τοιαῦτα (= τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς τοιούτους) (*Xen. Oec.* vi. 13). Here τῶν ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεγονότων οὐδέν is perhaps rather more emphatic than οὐδένα would have been, as we might say in colloquial English, 'nothing in the way of children' ; cp. the common use of οὐδέν and μηδέν of persons, e.g. οὐδέν εἰμι (*Soph. Phil.* 951), τὸ μηδέν ὄντας (*Ajax* 1275). See also note on *N. C.* 33 ἀμφοτέρα ταῦτα.

ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν βασιλέα κτ. : Schneider compares Harpocration p. 18.

4 οἱ μὲν υἱοὶ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ καλοῦνται ἄνακτες (princes),

αἱ δὲ ἀδελφαὶ καὶ γυναῖκες ἀνασσαι (princesses). Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῇ Κυπρίῳ πολιτείᾳ.

ὑπερβολαῖς: here 'exaggeration'; cp. the English rhetorical figure of speech *hyperbole*; see note on ὑπερβολήν, § 1.

φύσιν: see note on § 49.

- 13-75 *I have omitted much that might be said in praise of Evagoras; my age must be my excuse. I have attempted to give a picture of his acts and thoughts—a more useful memorial than a portrait or statue, for (1) great men pride themselves on great deeds, not on their physical appearance; (2) statues must remain where they are set up, but the fame of great deeds can travel far and wide; (3) no one would model himself on a statue, but men can imitate the lives of others as set forth in a written discourse.*

- 73 τῶν μὲν οὖν εἰς Εὐαγόραν πολλά, 'much that relates to Evagoras.'

ὑστερίζω τῆς ἀκμῆς τῆς ἑαυτοῦ, 'I am past my prime of life'; cp. *N. C.* 19 ὑστερίζουσι τῶν πραγμάτων, 'they let the moment for action go by,' lit. 'are too late for action'. The genitive is due to the idea of comparison contained in the verb. On the date of the Evagoras see *Intro.* p. 20.

οὐ μὴν ἀλλά: see note on § 33.

ὅσον κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν δύναμιν: sc. ἐστί. Schneider compares Isaeus 7. 41 καὶ μὴν καὶ ἐμέ γε, ὅσα κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν ἡλικίαν, εὐρήσετε οὐ κακόν.

Νικοκλῆς: see *Intro.* p. 21.

τὰς τῶν σωμάτων εἰκόνας: cp. *ad N.* 36 βούλου τὰς εἰκόνας τῆς ἀρετῆς ὑπόμνημα μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ σώματος καταλιπεῖν, and *Xen. Ages.* 11. 7 τοῦ μὲν σώματος εἰκόνα στήσασθαι ἀπέσχετο, . . . τῆς δὲ ψυχῆς οὐδέποτε ἐπαύετο μνημεῖα διαπονούμενος. Schneider compares *Plut. Cimon* 2 and *Cic. pro Arch.* 12.

ἐν τοῖς λόγοις . . . τοῖς τεχνικῶς ἔχουσι, 'in speeches composed according to the rules of art'; cp. *ad N.* 44 τῶν οὕτω τεχνικῶς πεποιημένων. τεχνικῶς is also used in a bad sense, 'cunningly,' *ad N.* 1 and *N. C.* 52; cp. *τέχνη*, *ad N.* 28.

- 74 προκρίνω δὲ ταύτας, 'I prefer the latter,' i.e. εἰκόνας τῶν πράξεων καὶ τῆς διανοίας.

τοὺς καλοὺς κάγαθοὺς: see note on § 51.

σεμνυνομένους ἐπί: see note on σεμνότητον, § 40. For ἐπί cp. μέγα φρονεῖν ἐπί, § 45.

τύπους, 'representations,' including both statues and pictures, as is shown by τοῖς . . . πεπλασμένοις καὶ γεγραμμένοις (§ 75).

ἐξενεχθήναί θ' οἶόν τ' : θ' has been inserted by most editors to avoid the *hiatus*; its omission was probably due to the οἶόν τ' immediately following.

διαδοθέντας, 'spread abroad.' διά in composition, like the Latin *di-*, *dis-*, often has a *distributive* force; cp. διαπέμπειν (Latin *dimittere*).

ἐν ταῖς τῶν εὖ φρονούντων διατριβαῖς ἀγαπᾶσθαι, 'are welcomed in the discussions of men of good understanding.' For διατριβή see note on διατρίβειν, § 31. ἀγαπᾶν often merely means 'to be content with', as in § 81 and *N. C.* 12.

75 πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ὅτι, 'further, because,' introducing a third reason.

τοὺς δὲ τρόπους τοὺς ἀλλήλων, 'the habits of one another.' Coraes suggests ἄλλων, which perhaps gives better sense, but there seems no valid reason for altering the reading.

ἐν τοῖς λεγομένοις, 'spoken discourses' (= ἐν τοῖς λόγοις τοῖς τεχνικῶς ἔχουσι, § 73).

ῥαθυμεῖν: see note on § 35 ῥάθυμος.

76-81 *My object in this Speech has been to encourage you, Nicocles, and the other descendants of Evagoras. I do so, not because you are indifferent or unambitious; for every one knows that you are a splendid example of a prince who is also a philosopher. My position is rather that of a spectator who cheers the winner in a race. Prove yourself worthy of your descent from Zeus and your father's virtues; do not be content merely to excel others, rather leave them far behind. This you will do if you continue in your present course.*

76 λόγον, 'discourse,' as in § 4.

θεωρεῖν: an infin. which carries on the meaning of παραδοίη ὑμῖν, 'were to submit them for your contemplation.'

συνδιατρίβειν: (see note on § 31 διατρίβειν) lit. 'to spend time with', so here, 'study'; cp. *Paneg.* 158 τῶν μύθων ἥδιστα συνδιατρίβομεν τοῖς Τρωϊκοῖς. In *ad N.* 27, 43 it is used literally 'spend time with'.

77 τοὺς . . . ἄλλους: i.e. those who do not belong to the family of Evagoras.

φιλοσοφίαν : see *Intro.* p. 14.

τῶν αὐτῶν ἐκείνους : see note on § 27 τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην τοῖς περι-
πίπτουσιν.

μηδενὸς ἥττον, 'less than none,' so 'better than any'.

δυνήσκει : after *σε καὶ τοὺς σοὺς* the plural would be expected, but Isocrates addresses himself particularly to Nicocles.

- 78 μὴ νόμιζέ με καταγιγνώσκειν ὥς νῦν ἀμελεῖς, 'do not imagine that I am accusing you of indifference in your present conduct.' ἀμελεῖς is here used absolutely as in *ad N.* 10 μὴ ῥαθυμεῖν μὴδ' ἀμελεῖν.

οὗτ' ἐμὲ λέληθας οὔτε τοὺς ἄλλους, ὅτι : see note on *λανθάνειν*, § 42.

διατριβῶν, 'studies,' see § 31.

ἀφεμένους ἐφ' οἷς, 'abandoning the pursuits in which they now take such great pleasure.' An antecedent to ἐφ' οἷς such as ἐκείνων must be supplied as object of ἀφεμένους, see note on § 26 ἐξ ὧν δ' οἶόν τ' ἦν.

- 79 ἀπολειμμένοις : see note on § 18.

- 80 ἐμὸν μὲν οὖν ἔργον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων φίλων, 'it is my duty and that of your other friends.' ἐμὸν being a possessive pronoun can be coupled with a genitive ; it can also have a genitive depending on it ; cp. *N. C.* 49 τοὺς ὑμετέρους αὐτῶν, and 55 τὴν ὑμετέραν αὐτῶν ἀρετὴν.

τοιαῦτα . . . ἐξ ὧν : for the relative introducing a consecutive clause cp. § 35 οὕτω ῥάθυμος, ὅστις.

τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον : see note on § 27 τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον.

ὥς, 'for,' used here as a connecting particle ; cp. the use of ὥστε, 'therefore,' *ad N.* 11, 46.

- 81 χρηὶ δ' οὐκ ἀγαπᾶν, εἰ κτέ., 'you must not be content with being already superior to those around you.'

τοιούτος . . . τὴν φύσιν . . . τοιούτου τὴν ἀρετὴν : cp. § 19 τηλικαῦτα τὸ μέγεθος and note.

τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν . . . τὸ δ' ὑπογυιότατον, 'distantly . . . immediately,' adverbial accusatives. ὑπόγυιος, lit. 'under the hand', so 'recent', 'fresh'.

ἐπὶ σοί, 'in your power' ; cp. *Paneg.* 142 τὸ ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ, 'as far as in him lay.'

ἐπιδιδῶς : see note on § 7 ἐπιδόσεις.

II. AD NICOCLEM

- 1-2 *When private individuals bring presents of gold and raiment to princes, who have already abundance of such things, their gifts are of the nature of commercial transactions. The gift I bring is advice to a monarch; I hope it may be useful.*

1 Νικόκλεις: see Introd. p. 21.

ἑσθήτας ἄγειν ἢ χαλκὸν ἢ χρυσόν: perhaps a reminiscence of Hom. *Od.* xvi. 231 χαλκὸν τε χρυσόν τε ἄλκις ἑσθήτά θ' ὕφαντήν.

λίαν ἔδοξαν εἶναί μοι καταφανείς: λίαν qualifies καταφανείς and probably owes its position to a desire to avoid *hiatus* which would be caused by πλουτεῖτε and ἔδοξαν coming together; cp. *E.* 48 πολὺ λίαν ἀπολειφθῶ and note.

τεχνικώτερον: see note on *E.* 73.

καπηλεύειν: usually of 'retail trading' (often with a further meaning of 'cheating'), here confined to 'trading' in general.

- 3 *Private individuals have the following advantages over princes: (1) they are schooled by the necessities of daily life, (2) the laws restrain them and their fellow men criticize them, (3) the poets have left them precepts by which to live.*

- 3 τὸ μὴ τρυφᾶν ἀλλ' ἀναγκάζεσθαι: we should say, 'the absence of luxury and the necessity,' &c.

τῶν ποιητῶν τινες: such as the Gnostic poets Hesiod, Theognis, and Phocylides, whom he mentions in § 42, where see notes.

ὑποθήκας, 'precepts.' ὑποτιθέναι, lit. 'place beneath', 'put down', means in the middle voice (1) 'to lay down as a foundation on principle', so here ὑποθήκη means 'a principle', 'precept'; (2) 'to lay down as a presupposition', 'to presuppose', as in § 13 οἶον ὑπεθέμεθα δεῖν εἶναι τὸν ὀρθῶς βασιλεύσοντα, hence ὑπόθεσις, 'hypothesis'; (3) 'to propose as a subject of discussion', as in *N. C.* 14 ἐντεῦθεν ὑποτιθέμενος ἡρξάμην; cp. ὑπόθεσις, 'subject', 'design' (§ 7). In the active it has a technical legal meaning 'to put down as a pledge', so 'mortgage'; cp. French *hypothèque*.

- 4-5 *Princes are less fortunately placed; their position isolates them, and those who come into contact with them flatter rather than ad-*

monish them. In fact, they often make such bad use of their opportunities that many people would prefer to live justly in a private station rather than unjustly as princes.

- 4 τοῖς δὲ τυράννοις οὐδὲν ὑπάρχει τοιοῦτον, 'but monarchs have no such advantages,' lit. 'but nothing of such a kind belongs to monarchs'. For ὑπάρχειν see note on *E.* 19.

ἀνουθέτητοι : the force of the verbal adjective is 'in such a position that they cannot be admonished'.

πρὸς χάριν : lit. 'with a view to favour', 'in order to please'.

ὁμιλοῦσιν, 'converse with', 'associate with'. ὁμιλεῖν, lit. 'to be together with', so 'associate with', 'converse with', 'deal with' (followed by dat. § 39, πρὸς and acc. § 24).

ἀφορμαῖς : see note on *E.* 28.

- 5 ἀποβλέψωσιν εἰς : see note on *E.* 24.

ὅπως οὖν ζῆν, 'to live any sort of life,' i.e. to live in extreme poverty. For ὅπως οὖν (Latin *quacumque ratione*) cp. *Philip.* 7 ὅπως γὰρ οὖν πεπραῆσθαι (τὴν εἰρήνην) κρεῖττον ἦν, 'it was better to make peace on any terms.'

λυσιτελεῖν : (λύειν τέλος) lit. 'to pay expenses', so 'to be profitable'; cp. the colloquial English 'it pays to do so and so'.

μετὰ τοιούτων συμφορῶν : μετὰ often connects circumstances with persons; cp. *Aesch.* 52 μετὰ τοσαύτης ἀσφαλείας διῆγον, 'they lived in such security.'

- 6-8 *The office of king, like that of priest, is often held to be easy; really it is the greatest of human responsibilities. I can give no rules for individual actions, only general principles. I hope my achievement will be worthy of my design: it is no mean task, and its success will benefit not only the ruler, but also his countless subjects.*

- 6 ταύτης δὲ τῆς ἀνωμαλίας καὶ τῆς παραχῆς, 'this inconsistency and confusion of ideas,' i.e. in the minds of those who try to weigh the respective merits of kingship and a private station. For ἀνωμαλία see note on ἀνωμάλως, *E.* 44. παραχῇ is often used of 'mental confusion'; cp. *Antidos.* 249 ὃ δ' οὐ μόνον παραχῆς σημείον ἐστὶν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ὀλιγορίας; in *N. C.* 31, 55 it is used in its literal and more general sense.

τὴν βασιλείαν ὥσπερ ἱερωσύνην παντὸς ἀνδρὸς εἶναι, 'that the office

of king like that of priest can be performed by any one.' παντὸς ἀνδρός, lit. 'the part of any man', an extension of the possessive genitive; cp. Plato, *Repub.* 335 B ἔστιν ἄρα δικαίου ἀνδρός βλάπτειν καὶ ὄντινόν ἀνθρώπων; for πᾶς 'every', so 'any', see note on *E.* 39 ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου.

ὅ: here almost introducing a concessive clause 'though really it is a most important function'.

ἐξ ὧν: an antecedent must be supplied from ἐξ ὧν as the object of συμβουλεύειν; cp. note on *E.* 26 ἐξ ὧν οἶόν τ' ἦν.

κατὰ τρόπον, 'aright.' τρόπος (like Latin *modus*) often has the meaning of 'due measure'. The opposite of κατὰ τρόπον is ἀπὸ τρόπου, 'unduly.'

διοικεῖν: here used absolutely, without an object, 'to govern.'

καθ' ὧν τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων, 'as regards your general line of conduct' (F.), as opposed to καθ' ἐκάστην τὴν πράξιν, 'each individual act.'

ὧν . . . διελθεῖν: the object of διελθεῖν is an antecedent supplied from ὧν.

περὶ αἱ: for the *hiatus* see note on *E.* 3.

7 ὑποθέσεως: see note on § 3 ὑποθήκας.

τῶν μετὰ μέτρου ποιημάτων: μετὰ μέτρου is unnecessary, but is inserted to balance καταλογάδην. For μέτρον see note on *E.* 10.

καταλογάδην: lit. 'in the manner of conversation', so 'in prose'.

παρέσχεν . . . ἔλαβεν: gnomic aorists; cp. *E.* 4 κατέστησαν.

πολὺ καταδεστέραν κτέ., 'have won a reputation which falls far short of expectation.'

8 οὐ μὴν ἀλλά: see note on *E.* 33.

τὰ παραλελειμμένα: sc. ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων, 'a subject which has been neglected.'

νομοθετεῖν ταῖς μοναρχίαις, 'to legislate for the kingly office.' Some editors have supposed these words to be corrupt on account of the dative ταῖς μοναρχίαις, and on the ground that Isocrates does not pose as a 'lawgiver' (νομοθέτης). The MS. reading, however, is perfectly intelligible: νομοθετεῖν is here used absolutely 'to act as lawgiver', and ταῖς μοναρχίαις (abstract for the concrete τοῖς μονάρχοις) is dative of advantage. The whole phrase is almost an example of *oxy-moron*, since the μόναρχος would naturally dispense with laws. νομοθετεῖν is also used absolutely in *N. C.* 7 followed by περὶ.

πολιτείας: see note on *E.* 46.

- 9-11 *We must first grasp the meaning of kingship. The duty of a king is to save his state from misfortune, to preserve its prosperity, and to raise it to greatness. Such a task requires more than usual wisdom; no athlete needs to train his body as carefully as a king should train his mind, and the prizes to be won by kings are proportionately greater.*

- 9 ἂν γὰρ . . . περιλάβωμεν, 'for if we properly grasp the scope of the subject as a whole in its main outlines' (F.).
 ἐνταῦθ' ἀποβλέποντες, 'if we keep our attention fixed upon that' (i. e. τὴν δύναμιν ὅλου τοῦ πράγματος). ἐνταῦθα = εἰς ταύτην.
 μεγάλην ἐκ μικρᾶς: for this use of ἐκ cp. *E.* 59 ἐκ ταπεινῶν and note. Themistocles (*Plut. Them.* 2. 3) is said to have boasted ὅτι λύραν μὲν ἀρμόσασθαι καὶ μεταχειρίσασθαι οὐκ ἐπίσταιτο, πόλιν δὲ μικρὰν καὶ ἄδοξον παραλαβὼν ἔνδοξον καὶ μεγάλην ἀπεργάσασθαι.
 10 τοὺς ταῦτα δυνησομένους, 'those who are to be able to do these things.'

τηλικούτων: see note on *E.* 19.

ῥαθυμεῖν: see note on ῥάθυμος, *E.* 35.

ἀμελεῖν: used absolutely; cp. *E.* 78 and note.

δέδεικται γὰρ κτέ.: for the sentiment cp. *E.* 41 ἡγούμενος μὲν, εἰ καλῶς τὴν αὐτοῦ φρόνησιν παρασκευάσεις, καλῶς αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἔξειν. δέδεικται might have indicated a direct reference to this passage in the *Euagoras*, but for the fact that this speech is certainly the earlier of the two (see *Introd.* pp. 20, 21). δέδεικται is therefore in the sense of 'it is well known' (Latin *constat*), lit. 'it has been made clear', as elsewhere in *Isocr.*, e. g. § 49, *Panegy.* 165, cp. *Archid.* 4 (ἦν δεδειγμένον).

- 11 ὥστ': here a connecting particle, as in § 46; cp. the similar use of ὥς, *E.* 80 and note.

τῶν ἀσκητῶν, 'athletes.' ἀσκητής, 'one who practises some trade,' is used especially of athletes, as in *Plat. Rep.* 403 E; cp. *Hesychius*, ἀσκητής, ἀθλητής and ἐπασκηταί, ἀθληταί.

οὐδ' ἐν μέρος τιθέασι κτέ., 'do not offer a fraction of the prizes for which you kings strive daily.' For this use of μέρος cp. τὰ δύο μέρη, 'two-thirds,' τὰ πέντε μέρη, 'five-sixths.' τιθέναι is regularly used of 'offering' prizes; cp. *Hom. Il.* xxiii. 262 ἱππεύσιν μὲν πρῶτα ποδώκεσιν ἀγλά' ἄεθλα | θῆκε.

περὶ ὧν : for the *hiatus* see note on *E.* 3.

- 12-14 *Kings must practise diligence as much as other men. Intelligence is as useful in training men as it is in training animals. Associate with the wisest, and never neglect a chance of acquiring wisdom. Remember that it is absurd that a man should rule over those who are wiser and better than himself.*

- 12 μηδὲ καταγνῶς τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοσαύτην δυστυχίαν, 'and do not condemn mankind to such an unfortunate position' &c. Schneider, on *Areop.* 49, quotes this passage in support of his view that *δυστυχίς* there means 'poor creatures' (*armselige Narren*), and renders *δυστυχίαν* in this passage by *stoliditatem*; there is, however, no reason to suppose that it is not here used in its literal sense.

περὶ τὰ θηρία τέχνας εὐρήκαμεν κτέ. : Isocr. works out this comparison at great length in *Antidos.* 211 ff.

τὰς ψυχάς : see note on *E.* 23.

ὧς . . . οὕτω διάκεισο τὴν γνώμην : cp. *E.* 29 οὕτω διέκειτο τὴν γνώμην, ὥσπερ . . .

- 13 τῶν ἄλλων : i. e. wise men of other nations.

μεταπέμπου : for *μετά* in composition see note on *E.* 50 *μεταπεπτώκασιν*.

σοφιστῶν, 'wise men.' For the meaning of this word in Isocr. see *Introd.* p. 14.

ἀπείρως ἔχειν : for ἔχειν with adverbs see note on *E.* 30 ὥσπερ εἶχεν. ἑλαττόνων . . . μειζόνων, 'inferiors . . . superiors.'

ἀγωνιστήν : (see critical note) equivalent to *ἀνταγωνιστήν*, which some MSS. read.

ὑπεθέμεθα : see note on § 3 *ὑποθήκας*.

- 14 ἔρρωμενέστερος : for comparative adverbs in *-ως* see note on *E.* 5 *φιλοτιμοτέρος*, and for adverbs formed from participles see note on *E.* 43 *πεπλανημένως*.

αὐτοῦ : for *σαντοῦ*. The reflexive pronoun of the 3rd person is not infrequently used in Attic Greek in place of that of the 1st and 2nd persons ; cp. § 24 *πρὸς ἑαυτόν* (= *σεαυτόν*), § 38 *τοῖς αὐτοῦ* (= *σεαυτοῦ*) *παῖσιν*, and *Phil.* 129 *πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα τὴν αὐτοῦ* (= *ἐμαντοῦ*). The use may perhaps be explained by the fact that the 3rd personal reflexive can be used of an *indefinite* person, so here *τὴν αὐτοῦ διάνοιαν* might be translated 'one's own understanding'.

15-16 *Men, like animals, must be loved before they can be properly trained; therefore you must be a lover of mankind and of your state. Those forms of government last longest where there is affection between the ruler and the ruled.*

15 μελέτω σοι τοῦ πλήθους: Evagoras is praised (*E.* 46) as δημοτικός ὢν τῇ τοῦ πλήθους θεραπείᾳ.

κεχαρισμένως αὐτοῖς ἄρχειν, 'to rule in a manner which is acceptable to them.' αὐτοῖς is to be taken closely with κεχαρισμένως. For the adverbs formed from participles cp. ἔρρωμενέστέως (§ 14) and see note on *E.* 43 πεπλανημένως. For the sentiment cp. Corn. Nep. x. 5 *nullum imperium tutum nisi benevolentia munitum*, and Claudian, *de iv cons.* Hon. v. 281 *non sic excubiae non circumstantia pila | quam tutatur amor*.

16 καλῶς δημαγωγῆσεις, 'you will make a good popular leader'; cp. δημοτικός, *E.* 46.

ἀδικήσονται: fut. *mid.* in form and *pass.* in meaning; cp. *E.* 5 εὐλογῶνται and note.

ταῦτα γὰρ στοιχεῖα κτέ., 'for these are the first and most important elements of good government.'

17-19 *Do not hesitate to alter existing laws if you can improve upon them. Laws should be consistent and immediate in their action. Make lawsuits costly and industries profitable. Your judgements should be given with care, for they will pass into law. Manage your state as you would your private property; be munificent yet economical, show your magnificence not in extravagant display but in purchasing possessions which are beautiful and lasting.*

17 προσταγμάτων, 'institutions,' which have the sanction of law.

ἐπιτηδευμάτων, 'customs,' which are sanctioned by public opinion.

κίνει καὶ μετατίθει τὰ μὴ καλῶς καθεστῶτα, 'change and alter such as are not ordered aright'; cp. *E.* 7 αἰεὶ τι κινεῖν τῶν μὴ καλῶς ἐχόντων and note.

εὐρετής: see note on *E.* 40.

εἰ δὲ μὴ: sc. αὐτὸς εὐρίσκειν δυνήσει.

σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ὁμολογουμένους: see note on τὰς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ὁμολογίας, *E.* 44. For the use of the reflexive for the reciprocal pronoun cp. σφᾶς αὐτούς, *E.* 53 and note.

ἀμφισβητήσεις, 'controversies'; cp. Antiphon 131. 7 ἀμφισβήτησιν ὑπολείπειν, 'to leave room for dispute.'

διαλύσεις, 'settlement.'

προσεῖναι: see note on ὃν προσεῖναι δεῖ, *E.* 46.

- 18 ἐργασίας, 'industries,' a general term covering agriculture, commerce, and handicraft.

πραγματείας: lit. 'business', so here in particular of 'lawsuits', the chief business of an Athenian in the fourth century B.C. Isocr. when he uses the word in this sense generally qualifies it, e.g. *Antidos.* 31 τῆς περὶ τὰ δικαστήρια πραγματείας and ib. 40 τῶν πραγματειῶν τῶν περὶ τὰ συμβόλαια γιγνομένων; he probably does not so qualify it here to avoid spoiling the balance of the sentence, in which τὰς δὲ πραγματείας corresponds to τὰς μὲν ἐργασίας.

περὶ ὧν: see note on *E.* 3.

ἀκινήτως ἔχειν περὶ τῶν δικαίων, 'should be immutable on questions of justice' (F.).

- 19 οἶκει: for the more usual διοίκει cp. *Areop.* 78 ἣν μὲν οὕτως οἰκῶμεν τὴν πόλιν ὥσπερ νῦν. Isocr. probably uses οἰκεῖν here to emphasize his comparison between πόλιν and οἶκον; it is almost an example of ὁμωνυμία see note on *E.* 36 ποιησάμενος . . . πεποιήνται.

ταῖς μὲν κατασκευαῖς κτέ., 'displaying a royal magnificence in the equipment of your state.' For κατασκευή see note on *E.* 44.

ταῖς δὲ πράξεσιν ἀκριβῶς, 'observing scrupulous accuracy in money matters.' πράξεσιν, 'transaction of business,' so 'money matters'. ἀκριβῶς is here used in a good sense and is almost equivalent to 'economically', it is sometimes used of money matters in a bad sense, 'stingily,' as in Andoc. 23. 19 ἀκριβῶς διατᾶσθαι.

διαρκῆς: here used absolutely, 'keep within your means' (F.).

μηδ' ἐν μίῳ: see note on *E.* 43 οὐδὲ περὶ ἐν.

ἐν τε τοῖς προειρημένοις: i.e. ἐν ταῖς λαμπραῖς καὶ βασιλικαῖς κατασκευαῖς.

τῷ κάλλει τῶν κτημάτων: it was a characteristic principle among the Greeks that everything around them, even the most ordinary articles of everyday use, should be as beautiful as possible; cp. *E.* 50 χαίρειν δὲ καὶ τοῖς κτήμασι καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασι τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς, and note.

ταῖς τῶν φίλων εὐεργεσίαις, 'acts of generosity towards your friends.' τῶν φίλων is an objective genitive.

20 *In religious matters follow the traditions of your forefathers, and remember that the highest service which you can render to the gods is to live justly.*

20 τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς, 'in matters of religion,' probably an accusative standing in relation to the whole sentence and not the object of ποίει; cp. for somewhat similar accusatives *N.C.* 2 τὰ περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσεβοῦμεν and note, and *Thuc.* vii. 31 αὐτοὶ δὲ τὰ περὶ τῆς στρατίας τὸν ξύλλογον ἡτοιμάζοντο.

κατέδειξαν: καταδεικνύναι is regularly used of those who initiate something new; cp. *Paneg.* 47 φιλοσοφίαν ἢ πόλιν ἡμῶν κατέδειξε.

θεραπείαν: see note on *E.* 28 θεραπεύειν.

καταβάλλοντας, 'sacrifice'; cp. Hesych. καταβάλλοντες· κτείνοντες, σφάζοντες, and Eur. *Bacch.* 1246 καλὸν τὸ θῦμα καταβαλοῦσα δαίμοσιν.

πράξιν τι . . . ἀγαθόν, 'win a blessing'; cp. Hesych. πρᾶσσειν· λαβεῖν.

τίμα . . . εὐνουστάτους: for reading see critical note. The passage is probably corrupt. As it stands it must be translated, 'honour the most intimate of your friends by the bestowal of public appointments, but in actual reality honour those who are best disposed towards you.' The contrast between τοὺς οἰκειοτάτους and τοὺς εὐνουστάτους does not give very satisfactory sense; and in any case the precept does not belong here, but rather to § 27, where the question of appointment to offices is discussed. The phrase ταῖς ἀληθείαις αὐταῖς is quite Isocratean, and is merely a stronger form of ταῖς ἀληθείαις, which is found in *Antid.* 283 ταῦτα καὶ ταῖς ἀληθείαις οὕτως ἔχει, 'these things are so in very truth' (cp. Philemon fr. 40 ταῖς ἀληθείαισιν). The readings of the inferior MSS. are doubtless attempts made by copyists to improve the passage. Lange suggests ἀργαῖς for ἀρχαῖς; this, taken with τῶν τιμῶν, the reading of Δ and the Marseilles papyrus, would make good sense if translated 'with unremunerative offices'; but Isocrates can hardly have written τίμα . . . τῶν τιμῶν.

1-22 *Your surest protection is the good will of your subjects and your own wisdom. Interest yourself in the homes of your citizens; their resources are yours, if you rule well. Show that your city is well disposed towards strangers, and that it abides by its contracts,*

Value rather those who desire favours at your hands than those who wish to bestow favours on you.

- 21 φυλακὴν ἀσφαλεστάτην κτέ.: for the sentiment cp. *Helene* 37 where Isocr. says of Theseus οὐδ' ἐπεισάκτω δυνάμει τὴν ἀρχὴν διαφυλάττων, ἀλλὰ τῇ τῶν πολιτῶν εὐνοίᾳ δορυφορούμενος, and Sallust, *Jug.* 10 *non exercitus neque thesauri praesidia regni sunt, verum amici*, and Tac. *Hist.* iv. 7 *nullum maius boni imperii instrumentum quam bonos amicos esse*.

τῶν πολιτικῶν: see note on *E.* 10. Isocr. insists elsewhere on the close relation between the prosperity of the individual and that of the state; cp. *N.C.* 55 διὰ τὰς ταραχὰς ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἀπόλλυσθαι καὶ τοὺς οἴκους τοὺς ἰδίου ἀναστάτους γίγνεσθαι, and *Paneg.* 103 ἐπὶ τοίνυν τῆς ἡμετέρας ἡγεμονίας εὐρήσομεν καὶ τοὺς οἴκους τοὺς ἰδίους πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν πλείστον ἐπιδόντας.

δαπανῶντας: δαπανωμένους is read by some MSS. Isocr. uses the active and middle of this verb indifferently. It is here used absolutely, 'those who squander their money.'

ἀπὸ τῶν σῶν: with ἀναλίσκειν.

τοὺς ἐργαζομένους: being directly contrasted with τοὺς δαπανῶντας, must here mean 'those who are trading with their money' (rather than 'those who are industrious' (F.)). For this meaning of ἐργάζεσθαι cp. Demosth. 893. 24 τοῦτοις πειρῶμαι ναυτικοῖς ἐργάζεσθαι, 'I am trying to trade with this money on bottomry.' ἐργάζεσθαι is coupled with φείδεσθαι in *Areop.* 24.

ἅπαντα γὰρ τὰ τῶν οἰκούντων τὴν πόλιν οἰκεία κτέ., 'for all the possessions of those who inhabit the city are the private property of those who rule well'; contrast this ordinary use of οἰκεῖν with that of οἴκει, § 19, where see note on the ὁμωνυμία or play upon words (οἴκει . . . οἶκον, οἰκούντων . . . οἰκεία).

- 22 προτιμῶν, 'that you value.' προτιμᾶν generally means to 'prefer', followed by a genitive of the thing compared.

ὥστε πιστοτέρους εἶναι τοὺς σοὺς λόγους κτέ.: cp. *Paneg.* 81, where Isocrates describes the ancient Athenians as πιστοτέροις τοῖς λόγοις ἢ νῦν τοῖς ὅρκοις χρώμενοι.

τὰ συμβόλαια, 'contracts.' συμβόλαιον is lit. a 'token', so 'signature', esp. of a 'bond' or 'covenant'.

νόμιμον: here used in the rare sense of 'law-abiding'; cp. Antiph. *Tetral.* A. β, 12 (p. 117) φιλοθύτην δὲ καὶ νόμιμον ὄντα,

περὶ πλείστου δὲ πολοῦ κτέ.: for the sentiment cp. the praise bestowed on the ancient Romans by Sallust (*Cat.* 6), because *magis dandis quam accipiendis beneficiis amicitias parabant*.

- 23-25 *Relieve your subjects of their fears. Do nothing in anger, but pretend anger if necessary. Let nothing escape you, but do not punish crimes as severely as they deserve. Show your authority by asserting the superiority of your intellect, and by showing your subjects that you have their interests at heart more than they themselves have. Be warlike in your preparation, peaceful in committing no unjust aggression. Be contentious only when victory will bring advantage. Respect those who carry out their ends rather than those who aim at the impossible.*

- 23 τοὺς πολλοὺς φόβους ἑξαίρει τῶν πολιτῶν, 'free your subjects from most of their fears,' i.e. there must be a certain feeling of fear in their minds (e.g. fear of punishment) but other fears must be reduced to a minimum. This seems better than 'the many fears to which they are liable' (F.).

ποίει μὲν μηδὲν μετ' ὀργῆς: cp. Cic. *de Off.* i. 38 *cum ira nihil recte fieri, nihil considerate potest*.

δόκει δέ: sc. ὀργίζεσθαι.

ὅταν σοι καιρὸς ᾗ, 'when occasion arises.' For the meaning of καιρός see note on *E.* 31.

- 24 ἀρχικὸς εἶναι βούλου, 'desire to show your authority.' For adjectives in -ικός see note on δημοτικός κτέ., *E.* 46.

μὴ χαλεπότητι: for the sentiment cp. *E.* 45 φοβερὸς ὢν οὐ τῷ πολλοῖς χαλεπαίνειν ἀλλὰ τῷ πολὺ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων φύσιν ὑπερβάλλειν.

τῷ πάντας ἡττάσθαι τῆς σῆς διανοίας, 'by making others feel the superiority of your intellect.'

πολεμικός κτέ.: cp. *de Pace* 136 πολεμικοὺς μὲν ὄντας ταῖς μελέταις καὶ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς, εἰρηνικοὺς δὲ τῷ μηδὲν παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον πράττειν.

τῷ μηδὲν παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον πλεονεκτεῖν, 'in committing no unjust act of aggression.' For πλεονεκτεῖν see note on *E.* 11.

δμίλει: see note on § 4. For the sentiment cp. *Paneg.* 81 τὴν αὐτὴν ἀξιοῦντες γνώμην ἔχειν πρὸς τοὺς ἡττοὺς ἤνπερ τοὺς κρείττους πρὸς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς.

τῶν πόλεων: partitive genitive after τὰς ἡττοὺς.

ὥσπερ ἂν τὰς κρείττους πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀξιώσειας : sc. ὀμλεῖν. For ἑαυτὸν (=σεαυτὸν) see note on § 14.

- 25 περὶ ὧν : *hiatus*, see note on *E.* 3 περὶ αὐτῶν.

μέλλει : the best MS. reads μέλλοι (see critical note), an optative which does not admit of explanation, and is probably due to assimilation to σοι.

φαύλους ἡγοῦ κτέ., 'consider not those men weak who accept a defeat which is to their advantage, but rather those who win a victory to their own hurt.' For μετά see note on § 5 μετὰ τοιούτων συμφορῶν; and for περιγίγνεσθαι see note on *E.* 36.

τοὺς μείζω περιβαλλομένους ὧν οἱοί τ' εἰσι κατασχεῖν, 'those who aim at greater things than they can attain.' ὧν is for ἐκείνων ᾧ by relative attraction, see note on *E.* 11 ἥς; the genitive is that of the thing compared after μείζω.

- 26-27 *Envy not those who have wide rule, but those who rule aright. Perfect happiness consists in doing one's duty and having moderate desires. Make friends who will help you to rule well, not those who will amuse your leisure. Remember that you will be judged by your friends, and that you are responsible for the acts of your subordinates.*

- 26 κτησαμένους . . . χρησαμένους : 'designed assonance' (παρονομασία) is common in Isocr.; cp. § 46 φθονοῦσι . . . φρονοῦσι, and *Paneg.* 45 ῥώμης . . . γνώμης. It is sometimes found in the Greek Tragedians, e.g. ἡ χρέος ἢ θεός, and in Latin, e.g. Varro, *R. R.* iii. 2. 13 *utrum propter oves an propter aues*. παρονομασία was a favourite figure of the Sophist Gorgias of Leontini, and was sometimes called 'figura Gorgiana'.

- 27 τῆς σῆς φύσεως, 'your character,' practically equivalent to σοῦ; see note on *E.* 49.

συνδιατρίψεις : see note on *E.* 76.

δοκιμασίας, 'scrutiny', 'examination'. δοκιμασία and the verb δοκιμάζειν are often used technically of the examination undergone either (1) by young men who were to be placed upon the roll of citizens, or (2) by magistrates, who had been elected, before entering office, as to their character and rights of citizenship.

τοῖς χρωμένοις : see note on *E.* 44.

τοιούτους; might refer either (1) to what has gone before and

mean τοὺς ἀκριβῶς δεδοκιμασμένους, or (2) to what is coming, ὡς αὐτὸς . . . ἔξω, and mean 'such men that you will be willing to assume the responsibility for what they do'. The latter is most probable, and in that case τοιούτους need not be expressed in English.

τοῖς πράγμασι τοῖς μὴ διὰ σοῦ γιγνομένοις, 'such matters as you do not attend to personally.'

ὡς αὐτὸς τὰς αἰτίας ἔξω κτέ.: cp. the words spoken by Maecenas to Augustus (Dio Cass. lii. 37. 6) πάντα γάρ, ὅς' ἂν ἡ καλῶς ἡ κακῶς πράξωσι, σοὶ προστεθήσεται.

8-29 *Trust critics rather than flatterers. Allow freedom of speech to men of wisdom, and listen to the judgements which men pass upon one another, and so learn their characters. Rule yourself as well as others; mastery over the passions is the most kingly of all qualities. Choose your friends carefully, and let them be men who will help you and whose friendship will raise you in the estimation of others.*

28 ὅ τι ἂν: for the *hiatus* see note on *E.* 39, and cp. § 35.

δίδου παρρησίαν κτέ.: cp. the saying of Hiero (Plut. *Apophth. reg. Hieronis* 1) μηδένα τῶν παρρησιαζομένων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄκαιρον εἶναι.

περὶ ὧν . . . περὶ ἀλλήλων . . . περὶ ὧν: see note on *E.* 3.

διδόρα, 'distinguish'; διὰ having the same force as *dis-* in the Latin *discernere*. In *N. C.* 16 it seems rather to mean 'see through', with the same force as *per* in the Latin *perspicere*.

τέχνη; in a bad sense, 'artfully,' see note on τεχνικῶς, *E.* 73.

πλέον . . . ἔχουσιν: equivalent to πλεονεκτεῖν 'have an advantage over', see note on *E.* 11.

ἄκουε τοὺς λόγους κτέ.: cp. Xen. *Agésilas* II. 4 οὐχ ἦττον ἔβητο καταμανθάνειν τοὺς τῶν λεγόντων τρόπους ἢ περὶ ὧν λόγοιεν.

29 ἄρχεσαντοῦ: cp. Seneca, *Ep.* cxiii *imperare sibi maximum imperium est.*

τοῦθ' ἡγοῦ κτέ.: τοῦτο is the antecedent of the clause ἂν μηδεμίᾳ . . . πολιτῶν.

ἂν μηδεμίᾳ κτέ.: cp. *E.* 45 ἡγούμενος τῶν ἡδονῶν ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀγόμενος ὑπ' αὐτῶν.

διατριβαῖς: see note on *E.* 31 διατρίβειν.

ἐπιδόσεις; see note on *E.* 7 ἐπιδόσεις,

30-31 *Do not entertain ambitions such as bad men can achieve. The truest honours are private expressions of respect, not public laudations. Give public utterance to your high aspirations. Do not think that citizens must be orderly, but kings may live lawlessly; the state takes its character from the ruler. The prosperity of the subject is the test of good government.*

30 μέρος . . . μέτεστιν : μέρος is pleonastic, as in *N. C.* 43.

ἐν τῷ φανερώ, 'publicly.'

αὐτοὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς ὄντες : *sc.* οἱ πολῖται.

λάνθανε μὲν . . . σπουδάξων, 'make a secret of it, if you happen to delight in anything trivial, but make a public display of your earnestness' &c. For λανθάνειν see note on *E.* 42.

τῶν φαύλων : with ἐπὶ τῷ.

31 τὸ τῆς πόλεως ὅλης κτέ. : *cp.* *N. C.* 37 φιλεῖ τὸ πλῆθος ἐν τούτοις τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασι τὸν βίον διάγειν ἐν οἷς ἂν τοὺς ἀρχοντας τοὺς αὐτῶν δρῶσι διατρίβοντας, and *Cic. Ep. Fam.* i. 9. 12 *quales in republica principes essent, tales reliquos solere esse ciues*, and *Liv.* i. 21 *ipsi se homines in regis, uel unici exempli, mores formarent*.

ῥμοιοῦται τοῖς ἀρχουσι : i.e. τῷ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἥθει ; see note on *E.* 34 πρὸς ἕκαστον αὐτῶν.

σημεῖον δ' ἔστω κτέ. : *cp.* *Cic. ad Att.* viii. 11 *moderatori rei publicae beata ciuium uita proposita est, ut opibus firma, copiis locuples, gloria ampla, uirtute honesta sit*.

εὐπορωτέρους, 'more prosperous,' as in *Phil.* 103 τὸν εὐπορώτατον τῶν νῦν περὶ τὴν ἡπειρον. *Isocr.* when he uses this word in the sense of 'rich' usually qualifies it, e.g. εὐπορώτερος τὰ περὶ τὸν βίον (*de Pace* 19) ; *Demosthenes* uses it, without qualification, e.g. *Olynth.* i. 28 τοὺς εὐπόρους, 'the wealthy classes.'

32-33 *It is better to leave behind you a good name, which no money can buy, than riches which the wicked can gain. Be rich in your attire, but temperate in your habits of life. Keep a watch on every word and action. The ideal of action is to hit upon the right course, but aim at qualities of defect rather than excess.*

32 ἡ δ' ἀθάνατος : see note on *E.* 16.

χρημάτων : gen. of price.

ἀλλ' ἢ, 'except.' This formula is always used after a negative expressed or implied. It is doubtful whether it stands for ἀλλὰ ἢ

or ἄλλο ἤ; but while the accentuation favours the former, it seems more likely that the literal meaning of the phrase is 'otherwise than', in which case ἄλλο (used adverbially) ἤ is more probable. The origin of the phrase had probably been forgotten, and it was used without reference to its original meaning.

καρτερεῖ : used absolutely, 'exercise self restraint,' as in *N. C.* 39 *καρτερεῖν δυνάμενον*.

ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπιτηδεύμασιν : lit. 'in all your other habits of life', which is strictly speaking slightly illogical, since ἐσθῆσι καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὸ σῶμα κόσμοις cannot be called ἐπιτηδεύματα. In English we should not translate ἄλλοις.

τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκείνοις γνώμην : see note on *E.* 27.

- 33 κράτιστον μὲν κτέ., 'the best thing is to hit the exact course which the occasion demands' (F.). ἀκμή, lit. 'edge', so 'highest point', 'zenith', and of time the 'right moment', is here used in a slightly different sense of 'the right course'.

ἐπειδὴ δὲ δυσκαταμαθήτως ἔχουσιν : sc. οἱ καιροί. ἀκμή would be the more natural subject, but Isocr. prefers a plural verb in order to avoid *hiatus*. For ἔχειν, with an adverb, see note on *E.* 30 ὥσπερ εἶχεν.

ἐλλείπειν αἰροῦ καὶ μὴ πλεονάζειν κτέ., 'choose not to go far enough rather than to go too far; for the mean consists in defect rather than in excess.' ἐλλείπειν and πλεονάζειν are used absolutely, lit. 'to fall short . . . to go beyond bounds'. It is a characteristically Greek idea that right action consists in an avoidance of the two extremes of excess and defect, and is the 'golden mean' between them. The idea is elaborately worked out by Aristotle, cp. *Eth. Nic.* ii. 5 (= 1106^a 28 ff.) τὸ δ' ἴσον μέσον τι ὑπερβολῆς καὶ ἐλλείψεως. λέγω δὲ τοῦ μὲν πράγματος μέσον τὸ ἴσον ἀπέχον ἀφ' ἐκατέρου τῶν ἄκρων; one of the examples he gives is courage (ἀνδρεία), which, he says, is the mean between rashness (θρασύτης) and cowardice (δειλία). The advice here given by Isocr. is exactly that of Cicero, *Orat.* xxii *etsi suus cuique rei modus est, tamen magis offendit nimium quam parum*.

- 34-35 *Be at once polite and dignified; this is not easy, for dignity often has the appearance of coldness, while courtesy leads to a sacrifice of dignity. Pursue any subject which you wish to master*

both by theory and practice; the two react upon one another. Bear the past in mind; it will help you in dealing with the future.

- 34 ἀστέιος: lit. 'belonging to the town' (Latin *urbanus*), so 'polite' (cp. English 'urbane'), as opposed to ἄγροικος 'belonging to the country', so 'rude', 'boorish'.

σεμνός: see note on *E.* 40.

ταπεινός, 'too humble', 'abject'. ταπεινός is used generally in a bad sense in Classical Greek; contrast its use as 'humble' in a good sense in the New Testament. Humility was not a Greek virtue.

δεῖ δὲ χρῆσθαι μὲν ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς ἰδέαις ταύταις κτέ., 'you must cultivate both these qualities, and avoid the disadvantage which attaches to each.' ἰδέα, lit. 'appearance', 'form', so 'kind', 'class'. Here ἰδέαι means 'kinds (i.e. of behaviour)', 'qualities'; cp. § 48, and *N. C.* 30, 44 and *E.* 9, where εἶδος is used in the same way, πᾶσι τοῖς εἶδεσι (sc. κόσμων). In Plato ἰδέα means a 'class', 'species', under which individual examples are arranged, and in Aristotle the 'general idea' or 'principle' underlying such a classification.

προσοῦσαν: a favourite word of Isocr. See note on *E.* 46.

- 35 ὅ τι ἂν: for the *hiatus* cp. § 28 ὅ τι ἂν λέγῃς.

ἀκριβῶσαι, 'master', 'thoroughly understand'.

ὦν: attracted relative for ἐκείνων (partit. gen. after ὅ τι) ἃ.

ἐμπειρία, 'practice,' as opposed to φιλοσοφία, 'theory.'

μέτιθι, 'go after', so 'pursue', 'study'. For μετά in composition see note on *E.* 50 μεταπεπτώκασιν.

τὰς ὁδούς, 'the methods to be pursued.'

χρῆσθαι τοῖς πράγμασι, 'to deal with events as they arise'; cp. *N. C.* 30 τὰς χρήσεις τῶν πραγμάτων.

ἂν γὰρ τὰ παρεληλυθότα κτέ.: cp. Andoc. 23. 39 χρή τεκμηρίοις χρῆσθαι τοῖς πρότερον γενομένοις περὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἔσεσθαι, and Dion. Halicarn. *Antiq.* x, p. 471 βουλευονται τε ἄριστα περὶ τῶν μελλόντων οἱ παραδείγματα ποιούμενοι τὰ γεγονότα τῶν ἐσομένων.

- 36-37 *Kings should so strive to live that they may acquire renown, remembering that private individuals are ready even to die to win glory. Let your virtues be a memorial of you rather than statues set up in your honour. Die gloriously rather than live in dishonour.*

Do nothing unworthy of your royal office. Your body will perish, but your deeds can win you immortality.

- 36 τὰς εἰκόνας κτέ. : cp. *E.* 73 τὰς τῶν σωμάτων εἰκόνας κτέ. and note.
καλῶς τεθνάναι μᾶλλον ἢ ζῆν αἰσχροῦς : a good example of *chiasmus*.
37 βασιλείας : here, 'kingship', 'kingly office'.
περίδης : see note on περιδεῖν, *E.* 30.
τὴν σαυτοῦ φύσιν ἅπασαν, 'your whole being' (F.).
διαλυθεῖσαν, 'dissolved,' i. e. by death. For another meaning of διαλύειν see *N. C.* 33.

θνητοῦ σώματος ἔτυχες, 'you possess a mortal body.' τυγχάνειν with the genitive means 'to hit upon', so 'obtain', and in the aorist 'have obtained', so 'possess'. The sentiment expressed in these and the following words is very common in Isocrates, e.g. *Phil.* 134 τὸ μὲν σῶμα θνητὸν ἅπαντες ἔχομεν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν εὐλογίαν καὶ τοὺς ἐπαίνους . . . ἀθανασίας μεταλαμβάνομεν.

τῆς ψυχῆς : see note on *E.* 23.

ἀθάνατον τὴν μνήμην : see note on *E.* 16.

- 8-39 *Speaking of good actions will help you to think of them. Imitate those whose reputation you envy. When you give advice to your children, follow it yourself. The wise are not those who dispute about trifles, but those who speak well on important matters; not those who promise happiness, but those who can bear success or failure with equanimity.*

- 38 μελέτα περὶ καλῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων κτέ. : for the converse of this maxim cp. *Aristot. Pol.* vii. 17 (= 1336^a 5) ἐκ τοῦ γὰρ εὐχερῶς λέγειν ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν αἰσχροῦς γίνεται καὶ τὸ ποιεῖν σύνεγγυς.

ἐπιτέλει. ὦν κτέ. : *hiatus* is allowed here, because the new sentence begins a fresh maxim and a pause is necessary before it.

τοῖς αὐτοῦ παισίν : see note on § 14 αὐτοῦ.

- 39 περὶ μικρῶν ἀκριβῶς . . . εὖ περὶ τῶν μεγάλων : a good example of *chiasmus*.

ὀμιλεῖν : see note on § 4.

μὴ διαταραττομένους κτέ. : cp. *Panath.* 30 ff. καλῶ πεπαιδευμένους . . . τοὺς μὴ διαφθειρομένους ὑπὸ τῶν εὐπραγιῶν μηδ' ἐξισταμένους αὐτῶν μηδ' ὑπερηφάνους γιγνομένους, ἀλλ' ἐμμένοντας τῇ τάξει τῇ τῶν εὖ φρονοῦντων.

χρῶ τοῖς εἰρημένοις, 'make use of these precepts which I have

offered you'; cp. Hor. *Ep.* i. 6. 67 *si quid nouisti rectius istis, | candi-*
dus imperti; si non, his utere mecum.

40-41 *Much that I am saying must be familiar to you; but the object of such a discourse as this is to collect scattered maxims and put them in an attractive form.*

40 ὅτι τοσούτων ὄντων . . . ἐπιτηδεύοντες: the words τοσούτων ὄντων τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων (= ιδιωτῶν, which some MSS. read) καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων must be taken together as partitive genitives dependent on οἱ μὲν . . . οἱ δέ, 'among the great number both of private individuals and of rulers, some . . . others . . .' Less good sense is obtained if τοσούτων ὄντων τὸ πλῆθος be made to refer to τῶν λεγομένων, 'when my precepts are so numerous.'

41 ἀλλὰ γάρ: (Latin *at enim*) has two meanings in Greek (1) introducing an objection, 'but some one will say,' or (2) as here, 'but the truth is that' (cp. *N. C.* 4).

τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων: rightly bracketed by Blass; it probably entered the text owing to some confusion caused by ἐπιτηδεύοντες in the line before.

ἐν οἷς: causal, 'since in them.'

τῶν διεσπαρμένων ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἄλλων διανοαῖς, 'the scattered thoughts of others' (F.).

42-44 *Men are apt to consider that those writers who give advice are useful, but they prefer to associate with those who share their own weaknesses. People admit that the Gnostic Poets are the best possible counsellors, but they find more pleasure in their own idle conversation than in reading these poets. They adopt the same attitude towards the moralizings of the Tragic poets—and prefer comedy.*

42 τῶν συγγραμμάτων, 'in prose,' more fully τῶν καταλογάδην συγγραμμάτων (§ 7).

ἀλλὰ πεπόνθασιν ὅπερ κτέ., 'for they have the same feeling towards them as towards those who offer advice.'

πλησιάζειν δὲ βούλονται . . . ἀποτρέπουσιν, 'but they like to associate with those who have the same faults as themselves rather than with those who seek to turn them from their faults'; cp. *ad Dem.* 45 τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλων τοὺς πλείστους εὐρήσομεν, ὥπερ τῶν

σιτίων τοῖς ἡδίστοις μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ὑγιεινοτάτοις χαίροντας, οὕτω καὶ τῶν φίλων τοῖς συνεξαμαρτάνουσι πλησιάζοντας ἀλλ' οὐ τοῖς νουθετοῦσιν.

- 43 Ἡσιόδου : Hesiod of Ascra in Boeotia is the earliest Greek poet except Homer whose works have come down to us. He probably lived in the second half of the ninth century B.C. His chief poem was the *Works and Days*, a didactic poem on agriculture which contains a number of pithy sayings and criticisms of life. He also wrote a *Theogony*, an account of the origin of the world; the *Shield of Heracles*, an imitation of the Homeric account of the *Shield of Achilles* is also, probably wrongly, attributed to him.

Θεόγνιδος : Theognis, who flourished in the middle of the sixth century B.C., was a noble of Megara who put into elegiac verse the orthodox doctrines of the Dorian aristocracy, which he desired to instil into the mind of his young friend Cyrnus. About 1,400 lines have come down to us bearing his name; but the text is much confused by additions made when he was used as a standard author in the schools of Athens, where the respectability of his views made his poem a favourite textbook.

Φωκυλίδου : Phocylides of Miletus, who also flourished in the middle of the sixth century B.C., was another elegiac moralist, of whom very few fragments have survived, mainly in the form of elegiac couplets introduced by the words καὶ τόδε Φωκυλίδου. A hexameter poem in 230 verses which has come down to us under his name was probably the work of an Alexandrian Jew of the first century A.D.

γεγενῆσθαι : the force of the perfect is, 'have proved themselves.'

συνδιατρίβειν ταῖς ἀλλήλων ἀνοίαις, 'spend their time over one another's follies,' i.e. in listening to each other's foolish talk. For συνδιατρίβειν see note on E. 76.

ὑποθήκας : see note on § 3.

- 44 εἴ τις ἐκλέξειε τῶν προεχόντων ποιητῶν τὰς καλουμένας γνώμας, 'if one were to pick out the so-called maxims of our distinguished poets,' i.e. if a collection of gnomic sayings (γνωμολογία) were made from well-known poets, i.e. from the tragic poets, as is clear from the contrast with the writings of the comic poets. In Latin we have a good example of a collection of sayings of this kind in the *Sententiae* of Publilius Syrus.

ἐκείνοι : i.e. οἱ προέχοντες ποιηταί.

κωμωδίας τῆς φαυλοτάτης: Isocr. had a very poor opinion of contemporary comedy; cp. *de Pace* 14 δημοκρατίας οὐσης οὐκ ἔστι παρρησία πλὴν ἐνθάδε (i.e. in the Ecclesia) μὲν τοῖς ἀφρονεστάτοις καὶ μὴδὲν ὑμῶν φροντίζουσιν, ἐν δὲ τῷ θεάτρῳ τοῖς κωμωδοδιδασκάλοις. The reason of his dislike of the comic writers was probably the fact that they caricatured him; cp. Strattis, *Comicorum Atticorum fragmenta*, ed. Kock, vol. i, p. 713, and Aristophanes, *ib.*, p. 563.

τῶν οὕτω τεχνικῶς πεποιημένων, 'such skilful compositions'; for τεχνικῶς see note on *E.* 73.

45-47 *The actions of most men are opposed to their best interests; they do not take pleasure in noble actions, just as they do not care for wholesome food, and they look upon those who do their duty as dull and painstaking. They consider it a trouble to look after their own private affairs, and prefer to discuss other people's business; they would rather suffer bodily sickness than undergo mental labour. Such men can take no pleasure in exhortation and instruction.*

45 εἰ ἔθελοιμεν . . . εὐρήσομεν: for this slightly irregular conditional sentence see note on *E.* 66 τίνα γὰρ εὐρήσομεν . . . εἰ . . . σκοποῖμεν; οὔτε τῶν σιτίων χαίροντας κτέ.: for this analogy between choice of action and choice of diet cp. *ad Dem.* 45 (quoted in note on § 42) and *de Pace* 100.

οὔτε τῶν θρεμμάτων τοῖς ὠφελιμωτάτοις: the reading *θρεμμάτων* (see critical note) is defended by Cobet (*N. L.* p. 154), who points out that Isocr. is here thinking of the useless animals, gamecocks, quails, &c., kept for sporting purposes (cp. Plato, *Legg.* 789 B).

καρτερικούς: καρτερεῖν has two meanings: (1) 'to persevere (in some course)'; (2) 'to hold out (against anything)', so καρτερικός might mean either 'plodding' or 'ascetic'; the latter perhaps is best here.

46 πρὸς τοῖς εἰρημένοις, 'in addition to what has been said,' i.e. 'in addition to the charges I have already brought against them'.

φθονοῦσι τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσι: for the παρονομασία cp. § 26 κτησαμένους . . . χρησαμένους and note.

ἀπλοῦς: like 'simple' in English, can be used (1) in a good sense, 'open', 'guileless', or (2) in a bad sense, 'foolish', 'unintellectual'. The former is the meaning here and in *N. C.* 52.

τὰ σφέτερ' αὐτῶν: αὐτῶν is a possessive gen. carrying on and emphasizing the possessive idea contained in σφέτερα.

λογιζόμενοι, 'if they take thought'; διαλεγόμενοι, 'conversing,' so 'gossiping'.

τῶν ἀναγκαίων, 'the necessary duties of life' (like τῶν δεόντων, § 45).

- 47 ἢ ληροῦντας ἢ λοιδορουμένους (see critical note), 'either talking nonsense or using abusive language'. This is better than reading λοιδοροῦντας ἢ λοιδορουμένους, 'reviling or being reviled,' since the middle rather than the active of λοιδορεῖν is used.

ἐν ταῖς ἐρημίαις, 'in solitude,' as opposed to ἐν ταῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους συνουσίαις, 'in the society of one another.'

εὐχομένους, 'indulging in vain wishes' (F.).

τῶν ἐνόχων τοῖς εἰρημένοις, 'those who are liable to my imputations.' ἐνοχος is originally a legal term 'bound by' (= ἐνεχόμενος), so, generally, 'liable to.'

- 18-49 *Those writers who wish to be read must introduce stories and fables, which are as popular as games and contests. This accounts for the popularity of Homer and the Tragedians. Homer told tales of the battles of gods and heroes, and the Tragedians brought actual contests before the eyes of their audience. The writer who can only offer good advice cannot compete with such attractions.*

- 48 κεχαρισμένον, 'acceptable.' The perf. part. pass. of χαρίζεσθαι is frequently used as an adj.; cp. Latin *acceptus*. The adverb is found in § 15.

ἀκούοντες μὲν γὰρ . . . ἀμίλλας, 'for they delight in listening to such things, just as they delight in looking at contests and races.'

ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς ἰδέαις ταύταις, 'both these kinds (of attraction).' For ἰδέα see note on § 34.

- 49 οἱ δὲ τοὺς μύθους . . . κατέστησαν, 'while the latter (i.e. the early writers of tragedy) have put the fables into the form of contests and actions,' i.e. have represented on the stage the battles &c., described in the fables.

ἀκουστοὺς . . . θεατοὺς, 'presented to our hearing . . . presented to our sight.'

τοιούτων οὖν παραδειγμάτων ὑπαρχόντων, 'with such examples then, before us.' For ὑπάρχειν see note on E. 19.

δέδεικται, 'it is clear'; see note on § 10.

ὅτι . . . ἀφεκτέον, τὰ δὲ τοιαῦτα λεκτέον: for the impersonal verbal construction see note on *E.* 7 οὐ μὴν δουλευτέον.

50-51 *It is your duty as a king to test men and actions by the advantage which they confer upon the state. Those who are engaged in philosophy, while differing as to the actual course of mental training to be pursued, are all agreed that an educated man must acquire the power of taking counsel from all available sources.*

50 τὸν οὐχ ἓνα τῶν πολλῶν ἀλλὰ πολλῶν βασιλεύοντα: a good example of chiasmus; see note on *E.* 4 οἱ δὲ περὶ τὴν μουσικὴν κτέ.

ἐπὶ τῶν χρησίμων, 'in the light of what is expedient'; cp. *E.* 34 ἐπὶ τούτων σκοπῶμεν and note.

51 ἄλλως τ' ἐπειδή: see note on *E.* 7.

οἱ περὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ὄντες: cp. οἱ περὶ τὴν μουσικὴν, *E.* 4 and note. For φιλοσοφία see *Introd.* p. 14.

διὰ τῶν ἐριστικῶν λόγων, 'by disputations on controversial topics.' ἐριστικοὶ λόγοι are literally 'wrangling discussions', so 'disputations'. Protagoras is said to have been an upholder of this form of mental gymnastic, and to have written a book called ἡ ἐριστικῶν τέχνη. Isocr. seems to have approved of such discussions (cp. *Panath.* 26 ἐπαινῶ . . . τοὺς διαλόγους τοὺς ἐριστικούς καλουμένους), though he thinks that the younger generation in his own day was too fond of them, an opinion which he repeats in *Antidos.* 261. We are told (Ps.-Plut. *vit. Isocr.* p. 837) that Isocrates was the first to distinguish between ἐριστικοὶ and πολιτικοὶ λόγοι.

τῶν πολιτικῶν: sc. λόγων, 'political discussions'; see note on πολιτικός, *E.* 10. Isocr. praises this form of mental training in *contr. Sophist.* 21 συνασκήσαι μάλιστα ἂν οἶμαι τὴν τῶν λόγων τῶν πολιτικῶν ἐπιμέλειαν.

τοὺς αὐτοῖς πλησιάζοντας: i.e. their pupils.

τὸν καλῶς πεπαιδευμένον, 'a well-educated man.'

ἐξ ἐκάστου τούτων, 'from all these different sources,' i.e. τὰ γυμνάσια τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς which he has described.

52-53 *Test men by principles which do not admit of dispute, observing them when they are giving advice on difficult points, or, failing that, when they are giving judgement on general topics. Reject*

those who show that they cannot grasp a position; honour those who show intelligence and foresight. Those who can benefit your understanding will make you a great king.

- 52 ἀφένον, 'avoiding,' lit. 'letting go from oneself', followed by the genitive in Attic Greek.

ἐπὶ τοῦ συνομολογουμένου λαμβάνειν αὐτῶν τὸν ἔλεγχον, 'test them in the light of generally admitted principles.' For ὁμολογεῖν see note on *E.* 44 ὁμολογία, and for this use of ἐπὶ cp. ἐπὶ τῶν χρησίμων, § 50 and note.

αὐτῶν : i. e. those whose advice Nicocles is thinking of taking, or perhaps quite generally of 'mankind'.

μάλιστα μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν καιρῶν κτέ., 'if possible, you should observe them when they are giving advice to suit special occasions.' μάλιστα often introduces the preferable of two alternatives. For καιρός see note on *E.* 31.

εἰ δὲ μή, καὶ καθ' ὅλων τῶν πραγμάτων λέγοντας, 'and failing that, when they are speaking on general topics.'

ἀποδοκίμαζε, 'reject (after scrutiny)'; see note on δοκιμασίας, § 27.

ὁ μὴδὲν ὦν αὐτὸς χρήσιμος, 'if a man is of no use in himself.' μὴδὲν is an adverbial accusative qualifying χρήσιμος.

- 53 ὁρᾶν πλέον τι τῶν ἄλλων : we should say 'see farther than others'.
θεράπευε : see note on θεραπεύειν, *E.* 28.

τυραννικώτατον, 'most worthy of a monarch'; see note on τυραννικός, *E.* 46, and cp. βασιλικωτάτους, *N. C.* 10.

- 54 *I have given you the best advice I can; this is my gift to you. The usual gifts made to princes cost more to the recipient than if he bought them in the open market, and in time perish; but good advice, however much used, will never be the worse for wear.*

- 54 ὅπερ εἶπον ἀρχόμενος : i. e. in § 1. For ἀρχόμενος see note on *E.* 63 τελευτῶν.

ἀλλὰ τοιαύτας . . . κατατρίψεις, 'but such gifts, that, however much you use them (lit. if you use them very much) and if you use them every day (lit. if you never leave out a day), you will never wear them out.'

III. NICOCLES, OR THE CYPRIANS

1-2 *Some people find fault with oratory and say that it is used for selfish ends. But men praise those who act rightly, so why should they abuse those who speak well? We ought not to blame circumstances which enable men to advance their interests by acting virtuously; we should keep our condemnation for those who, while their actions are wicked, use words in order to deceive.*

1 τοὺς λόγους, 'speeches', 'oratorical displays', as in *E.* 4, 76.

τοὺς φιλοσοφούντας: i.e. in particular those who cultivate eloquence which is a part of φιλοσοφία.

πλεονεξίας, 'selfish ends'; see note on πλεονεκτεῖν, *E.* 11.

διατριβάς: see note on διατρίβειν, *E.* 31.

2 τὰ περὶ τοὺς θεούς: adverbial accusative; cp. τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεούς, *ad N.* 20 and note; a similar phrase occurs in *ad Dem.* 13 εὐσέβει τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεούς.

ἐλαττον ἔχωμεν, 'come off worse than.' ἐλαττον ἔχειν is the opposite of πλεονεκτεῖν.

ὅπως ἂν . . . διάγωμεν: ἂν is sometimes found in final clauses in conjunction with ὅπως and the subjunctive (first found in Aeschylus), also with ὥς in Xenophon (though never in Isocrates), but in no case with ἵνα. The ἂν seems to add little to the meaning; it is never found in negative final clauses.

ὥς μετὰ πλείστων: for μεθ' ὥς πλείστων.

τὸν βίον διάγωμεν: see note on *E.* 24.

ὥστε: a connecting particle, as in *ad N.* 11.

ὥστ' οὐ κατηγορητέον κτῆ., 'so we ought not to find fault with the circumstances which enable a man to advance his own interests while practising virtue, but rather with those individuals who in action do wrong or employ words in order to deceive, thus putting them to a wrongful use.'

3-4 *If eloquence is to be blamed because some men misuse it, the same applies to wealth and strength and courage, which are also in themselves excellent things. Yet we do not condemn strength, because one man may unjustly strike another; the blame is put not on the qualities themselves, but on those who misuse them.*

- 3 θαυμάζω δὲ τῶν . . . ἐχόντων, ὅπως οὐ . . . λέγουσιν: lit. 'but I am astonished in those who hold this opinion how it is that they do not abuse wealth', &c., we should say, 'I am astonished that those who hold this opinion do not abuse wealth,' &c. θαυμάζειν, when followed by a personal object, can take (1) acc. of person, (2) gen. of person and acc. of thing, (3) gen. of person and a dependent clause, as here.

- 4 ἀλλὰ γάρ: see note on *ad N.* 41.

οὐ δίκαιον κτε.: strength and wealth and courage are good things, but they may be used to do harm (e. g. a strong man may use his strength to strike another man unjustly); we must not blame the strength itself or the wealth, which has brought a man to disaster, but the individual who has made a wrong use of his advantages. Aristotle frequently insists on the harm which τὰ ἀγαθὰ can do, e. g. in *Eth. Nic.* 1094^b 17 τοιαύτην δὲ τινα πλάνην ἔχει καὶ τὰγαθὰ διὰ τὸ πολλοῖς συμβαίνειν βλάβας ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἥδη γάρ τινες ἀπώλοντο διὰ πλοῦτον, ἕτεροι δὲ δι' ἀνδρείαν. He explains the apparent contradiction by saying that things which are in themselves (ἀπλῶς) good, may incidentally (κατὰ συμβεβηκός) cause harm. We may compare Seneca, *Ep.* v. 9 *multa bona nostra nobis nocent.*

μεταφέρειν, 'transfer', 'shift'. For the meaning of μετὰ in composition with verbs see note on μεταπεπτόκασιν, *E.* 50.

- 5-9 *Those who find fault with the exercise of the function of speech are blaming a faculty in man which is most productive of good. It differentiates us from the beasts and has done more than anything to foster civilization. It is the faculty which has enabled man to make laws, to educate himself, to inquire into the unknown, and to deliberate on matters of importance. In short it is the guide and inspiration of deed and thought, and to speak evil of philosophers and educators, who make the greatest use of it, is almost as wicked as to commit sacrilege.*

- 5 ἀμελήσαντες . . . περὶ ἐκάστου διορίζεσθαι, 'not taking the trouble to define things clearly.'

τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον: adverbial acc., 'in this manner.'

ἅπαντας τοὺς λόγους, 'speech in general.'

διαφέροντες: on the meanings of this word see note on *E.* 14.

εὐπορίαις, 'advantages.'

- 6 ἐγγενομένου δ' ἡμῖν τοῦ πείθειν κτέ., 'but since there is implanted in us the power to persuade one another and to make clear,' &c.

ἡμᾶς αὐτούς : reflexive for reciprocal ; cp. *E.* 53, 57, and *ad N.* 17.

λόγος : it may be noted how closely allied are the two meanings of this word (1) 'speech', and (2) 'reason', 'reason' being the power of the mind as manifested in speech.

- 7 δοκιμάζομεν : see note on δοκιμασία, *ad N.* 27.

τοῦ φρονεῖν εἶ : for order instead of the more natural τοῦ εἶ φρονεῖν, which would involve a *hiatus*, cp. *E.* 58 μεταξύ πάσῃων εἶ.

ψυχῆς : see note on *E.* 23.

εἰδωλον, 'image', 'reflexion'.

- 8 περὶ τῶν ἀμφισβητησίων ἀγωνιζόμεθα, 'we discuss matters which admit of dispute.'

πίστεσιν : here a rhetorical technical term, 'arguments', 'proofs', lit. 'means of persuasion'. Aristotle (*Rhet.* 1355^a 4 ff.) defines πίστις as a proof which is of a moral rather than a scientific kind, the latter being called ἀπόδειξις.

ῥητορικούς, 'clever orators.' For the force of adjectives in -ικός see note on δημοτικούς, *E.* 46.

αὐτοὶ πρὸς αὐτούς, 'in their own minds.'

- 9 συλλήβδην, 'in short,' an adv. formed from the stem of the verb συλλαμβάνειν ; cp. κρύβδην from κρύπτειν and σποράδην from σπείρειν.

δυνάμεις : here 'capacity', 'faculty'. δύναμις from meaning 'power' comes to mean 'the power to produce a certain effect', so 'capacity'. In Aristotle by a further refinement of meaning δύναμις is a 'capability', a 'potentiality', or power which has virtual existence but is not actually brought into play, as opposed to ἐνέργεια, a capability which is put into action.

ἀλόγως = ἄνευ λόγου, 'without the assistance of speech.'

τοὺς εἰς τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἑξαμαρτάνοντας : i. e. those who rob or profane the property of the gods.

10-11 *I approve of any discourse which is beneficial, particularly if it treats of moral questions and the relations between kings and subjects. We have already heard Isocrates on the relation of rulers to their subjects ; I will now treat of the duties of subjects towards their rulers. When you have heard my views, I shall have the right of censuring those who do not carry out my wishes.*

10 ἀποδέχομαι, 'welcome,' as in *E.* 2.

καὶ κατὰ μικρόν: see note on οὐ κατὰ μικρόν, *E.* 59.

οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ: see note on *E.* 33.

βασιλικωτάτους, 'most worthy of a king'; in *ad N.* 53 τυραννικώτατον is used in exactly the same sense.

ἐπιτηδευμάτων, 'pursuits', so 'habits of daily life', 'moral conduct' (F.).

πολιτειῶν: see note on *E.* 46 ἐκάστης τῆς πολιτείας.

11 τὸν μὲν οὖν ἕτερον: sc. λόγον, i.e. the speech of Isocrates *ad Nicoclem.*

τὸν δ' ἐχόμενον: sc. λόγον, 'the following discourse'; cp. ἐκ τῶν ἐχομένων, *E.* 33 and note.

ὑπερβαλούμενος: see note on *E.* 1 ὑπερβολήν.

προσῆκον: acc. absolute—a construction usually found with impersonal verbs or verbs used impersonally in the passive, e.g. δέον, 'it being necessary,' προστεταγμένον, 'it having been ordered': ὥς is practically always added if a subject is expressed; cp. § 48 ὥς τὸ σύμπαν ἔξον.

διαμάρτετε τῆς ἐμῆς γνώμης, 'you should mistake my sentiments' (F.).

12-13 *My exhortations will have more weight, if I prove to you, firstly, that our political conditions are ideal, and secondly, that I hold rule by every divine and human right.*

12 παρακαλέσαι: see note on *E.* 28.

εἰ περὶ τὸ συμβουλευεῖν μόνον γενόμην, 'if I were to devote myself solely to giving advice.' For this common use of περὶ in Isocr. cp. *E.* 4 οἱ περὶ τὴν μουσικὴν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀγωνίας ὄντες.

ταῦτα = ταύτας τὰς συμβουλίας.

ἀπαλλαγείην: here ἀπαλλάσσω in the pass. is used absolutely, 'leave off', 'desist'.

εἰ προεπιδείξαιμι . . . τὴν πολιτείαν . . . ὥς ἀξιόν ἐστιν κτέ.: here after a verb of *showing* the subject of the dependent clause is anticipated as the object of the principal verb. For a similar construction after a verb of *knowing* cp. *E.* 6 οὓς οὐκ ἴσασιν εἰ γεγόνασιν, and note.

ἀξιόν ἐστιν ἀγαπᾶν: for ἀγαπᾶν see note on *E.* 74.

- 13 ἐπειθ', 'and secondly.'

οὐ παρανόμως οὐδ' ἄλλοτρίαν, 'not by lawlessness and usurpation' (F.). For this coupling together of an adverb and an adjective see note on *E.* 37 καὶ πλείστοι καὶ μάλιστα.

ὁσίως καὶ δικαίως: the same phrase occurs in *E.* 26 ὁσίως καὶ δικαίως λαβεῖν τὴν ἀρχήν.

- 14-16 *Monarchy has great advantages. It is monstrous that the good and bad should receive the same treatment; yet oligarchies and democracies aim at equality among citizens, which clearly gives an advantage to the wicked. Monarchies, on the other hand, reward according to merit. Again absolute rulers can judge men's characters better, and a wise man will choose to live where his good qualities will obtain recognition. Monarchies too, are milder, because it is easier to know, and so to obey, the will of one ruler than that of many.*

- 14 ὑποτιθέμενος: see note on *ad N.* 3 ὑποθήκας.

τὸ διωρίσθαι περὶ τούτων κτέ., 'that there should be distinctions laid down between such people, and that persons who behave in different ways should not meet with the same treatment.'

- 15 τῶν πολιτειῶν: here 'political rights'; see note on *E.* 46.

τοῦτ' εὐδοκίμει παρ' αὐταῖς, ἦν, 'this principle is held in honour amongst them, that,' &c.

δευτέρῳ δέ . . . κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον, 'and proportionately to the second best after him, and the third and fourth best and so on.' δευτέρῳ, 'second (in point of excellence).'

τό γε βούλημα τῆς πολιτείας, 'the intention of this form of government.' Jebb compares Plato, *Leg.* 769 D ἄρ' οὐ τοιοῦτον δοκεῖ σοι τὸ τοῦ νομοθέτου βούλημ' εἶναι.

- 16 διορᾶν: see note on διόρα, *ad N.* 28.

τῶν εὖ φρονούντων: with τίς, 'what man of sense?'

ἐν ᾗ μὴ διαλήσει χρηστὸς ὢν, 'in which his excellent qualities will not fail to be observed.' διαλήσει, on the meaning and constructions of λανθάνειν see note on *E.* 42.

μᾶλλον ἢ φέρεσθαι κτέ., 'rather than be carried away with the crowd without his real character being recognized.'

ἀλλὰ μὴν : introducing a new point, 'then again.'

γνώμη, 'will.'

μᾶλλον : redundant.

7-18 *Thus monarchy is the pleasantest, justest, and mildest form of government; it is also more efficient in deliberation and action. Those who hold office for one year only have to retire before they have mastered their duties; a monarch has the advantage of continuous experience. Again, he knows that he has to superintend everything; the oligarchic and democratic ruler has colleagues, and much remains undone because each thinks the other is doing it.*

17 οὐ μὴν ἄλλὰ : see note on E. 33.

διὰ τούτων : i. e. the reasons already given.

συνιδεῖν : lit. 'see together', so 'see at a glance'.

περὶ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν κτέ., 'but in the other points we should best see how superior monarchies are in respect of necessary deliberation and action, if we set side by side and try to examine one by one the most important spheres of action' (i. e. as performed by monarchy and by other forms of government).

ἰδιῶται γίνονται, 'pass into private life again.'

18 οἱ δ' αἰεὶ κτέ. : i. e. οἱ μονάρχαι.

ἀλλ' οὖν, 'at any rate.'

εἰς ἀλλήλους ἀποβλέποντες, 'because each looks to another to do them,' i. e. what is not a particular person's duty is no one's duty.

ὀλιγωροῦσιν : see note on E. 41.

οἱ ἐν ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις, 'those who hold office in oligarchies,' or perhaps simply 'those who live under oligarchies'.

τὰς πρὸς σφᾶς αὐτοῦς φιλοτιμίας, 'their rival ambitions.' σφᾶς αὐτοῦς = ἀλλήλους as often, see note on E. 53.

9-21 *In oligarchies and democracies the rulers have private interests, further they only meet occasionally and opportunities for action are missed; monarchs are continually occupied in the public interest. Again, the former are jealous and wish to exalt themselves at the expense of their predecessors and successors, the latter seek the good will of all. But the greatest difference is that monarchs treat public affairs as their own concern, other rulers transact them as if they*

were other people's business, and they choose their advisers accordingly.

- 19 ὑστερίζουσι : see note on *E.* 73.

διαφερομένους : see note on *E.* 14.

ἀποδεδειγμένων, 'appointed', 'fixed'.

ἐπὶ ταῖς πράξεσιν ὄντες, 'being engaged in their duties.'

- 20 δυσμενῶς ἔχουσι : used absolutely, 'have bitter feelings.'

τοὺς ἐφ' αὐτοῖς, 'their successors,' but τοὺς ἐφ' αὐτῶν (*E.* 5), 'their contemporaries.'

- 21 τὸ δὲ μέγιστον τοῖς γάρ : see note on *E.* 8 σημείον δὲ μέγιστον . . . γάρ.

τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὄχλοις εἰπεῖν . . . ἐπισταμένους : the reference is to the *ρήτορες* or professional orators who spoke in the Ecclesia. Isocrates, like Demosthenes, realized and continually emphasized the evil influence of this class on Athenian politics ; cp. *Panath.* 12 πάντες ἴσασι τῶν μὲν ρητόρων τοὺς πολλοὺς οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῶν τῇ πόλει συμφερόντων, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ὧν αὐτοὶ λήψεσθαι προσδοκῶσι, δημηγορεῖν τολμῶντας.

- 22-24 *In war too a monarch has great advantages. He can raise troops without attracting attention and surprise his foes, and he can win them over by persuasion or coercion. The success of monarchies in war can be illustrated from the Persian Empire and from the rule of Dionysius of Syracuse. Even the Spartans and Carthaginians prefer a monarchy in time of war, and Athens has always been more successful under one than under many generals.*

- 22 ἐν τοῖς ἐγκυκλίοις, 'matters of ordinary routine.' ἐγκύκλιος, lit. 'recurring in a circle', so 'periodical' (as in *de Pace* 87 ἐν ἡν τοῦτο τῶν ἐγκυκλίων, ταφὰς ποιεῖν καθ' ἕκαστον τὸν ἐνιαυτόν), so 'constantly recurring'.

ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ κτέ., 'but they also possess (lit. have seized) all the advantages in war.' For *πλεονεξίας* see note on *E.* 11 *πλεονεκτούσης*.

λαθεῖν καὶ φθῆναι, 'to escape notice and anticipate the foe.' The correction of ὀφθῆναι (see critical note) to φθῆναι gives much better sense, and does away with the *hiatus*; if ὀφθῆναι is kept we shall have to translate 'to escape notice or attract observation' (F.), which has little point. For the combination of *λανθάνειν* and *φθάνειν*

cp. *E.* 42 μήτε τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύοντας αὐτῷ φθάνειν μήτε τοὺς ἐπιεικέως ὄντας λανθάνειν.

παρὰ δὲ τῶν ἐκπρίασθαι : the usual meaning of ἐκπρίασθαι is 'to buy off', 'redeem' (cp. Antiph. 136. 36 χρήμασι κίνδυνον ἐκπρίασθαι). Here, however, it must mean merely 'to buy', i.e. 'get (what they want) by purchase', a sense in which ἐξωνεῖσθαι, which supplies the present of ἐκπρίασθαι, is found in Herodot. i. 196.

ταῖς ἄλλαις θεραπαίαις, 'by various services.' ἄλλαις is here used in a slightly illogical manner, since τοὺς μὲν πείσαι κτέ. can hardly be called θεραπαίαι: cp. Xen. *Anab.* i. 5. 5 οὐ γὰρ ἦν χόρτος οὐδὲ ἄλλο δένδρον οὐδέν. For θεραπαία see note on *E.* 28 θεραπεύειν.

23 τοῦτο μὲν . . . τοῦτο δέ: see note on *E.* 14.

τὴν τῶν Περσῶν δύναμιν : the Persian Empire owed its greatness to the military genius of Cyrus and the organizing power of Darius. The folly of Xerxes put an end to all hope of expansion to the West, but did not materially affect the position of Persia in the East. Alexander the Great conquered Persia, as he conquered every other power with which he came into contact; but the Romans could not make much impression on the Persian monarchy, particularly under the Empire.

τηλικαύτην τὸ μέγεθος : see note on *E.* 19.

Διονύσιον : Dionysius I of Syracuse owed his rise to the lead which he took against the Carthaginians, when in 406 B.C. they had already conquered Camarina and Gela and were threatening Syracuse. He is therefore a particularly good instance of a tyrant whose success was due to his military ability; he ruled, however, on democratic principles (πιστευθεὶς ὡς δημοτικὸς ὢν, Aristot. *Pol.* 1305^a 28).

παράλαβών : see note on *E.* 35.

ἀνάστατον : lit. of persons 'made to arise', so 'driven from house and home', hence of countries and cities 'laid waste'.

24 Καρχηδονίους καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους : Aristotle similarly classes the Carthaginians and Spartans together : πολιτεύεσθαι δὲ δοκοῦσι καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι καλῶς . . . μάλιστα δ' ἔνια παραπλησίως τοῖς Λάκωσιν (*Pol.* 1272^b 24), τοὺς δὲ βασιλεῖς (ἔχουσιν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι) καὶ τὴν γερονσίαν ἀνάλογον τοῖς ἐκεῖ βασιλεῦσι καὶ γέρονσιν (ib. 37). The Spartan kings belonged to two families, the Agidae, who claimed Achaean descent, and the Eurypontidae, who were perhaps Dorian. In

historic times their military functions were so preponderant that Aristotle (*Pol.* 1285^a 6) describes the kingship as *στρατηγία τις αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ αἰδιος*, 'an absolute and perpetual generalship.' Their official title *βαγοί* ('leaders') also indicates their chief function. The two chief magistrates at Carthage were known as 'suffetes' (probably the same word as the Hebrew 'shophetim', 'judges'). They seem to have been chosen from a limited number of leading families.

τοὺς ἀρίστα τῶν ἄλλων πολιτευομένους: Sparta appealed to the Greek thinker as the one state in Hellas which realized his ideal of permanence, which was secured by the perfect balance of the elements which composed it.

ἀρίστα τῶν ἄλλων: lit. 'best of all others' (which is illogical), so 'far better than any other state'. The superlative is often used, where a comparative might be expected, to express a superlative degree of superiority: cp. the well-known instance in Soph. *Antig.* 100 *κάλλιστον τῶν πρότερον φάος*, 'light far fairer than all former lights.'

τῇν πόλιν: i.e. Athens. τῶν Ἀθηναίων is added by some MSS. (see critical note).

ὅταν μὲν πολλοὺς ἐκπέμψῃ στρατηγούς, ἀτυχοῦσαν: e.g. at Aegospotami, where six generals were in command, and on the Sicilian expedition, when Athens sent out three commanders.

25-26 *Thus it is clear that monarchy is the most efficient form of government. It is said that even the gods are under the kingship of Zeus; even if this were untrue, yet the fact that we imagine that the gods are under a monarchy is an admission that we consider it the best form of government.*

25 φαίνονται γὰρ . . . πράττοντες: οἷ τε διὰ τέλους τυραννεύμενοι, οἷ τε καλῶς ὀλιγαρχούμενοι, οἷ τε μισοῦντες τὰς τυραννίδας are all subjects of φαίνονται, with which the participles ἔχοντες, καθιστάντες, and πράττοντες are to be closely taken. οἷ τε καλῶς ὀλιγαρχούμενοι are subdivided by οἷ μὲν, οἷ δέ, which may be translated 'in some cases', 'in other cases'.

διὰ τέλους: this phrase can mean either (1) 'continually', or (2) 'completely'. The former gives the best sense here, and is usually

the meaning of the phrase in Isocrates; cp. *Phil.* 24. διὰ τέλους, and *de Pace* 17.

περὶ αἱ : i.e. ἐν ἐκείνοις περὶ αἱ. For the hiatus see note on *E.* 3 περὶ αὐτῶν.

26 περὶ ὧν : see last note.

κατάστασιν, 'state of affairs'; cp. § 55 τὴν παροῦσαν κατάστασιν.

:7-28 *So much must suffice to prove the superiority of monarchy, a subject which might be discussed at far greater length. It remains for me to point out that I have an indisputable right to rule as the direct descendant of Teucer, the original colonizer of Salamis, and as son of Evagoras, who drove out the Phoenicians and re-established the family on the throne.*

27 οὐ μὲν ἀλλά : see note on *E.* 33.

ἀποχρώντως . . . προσηκόντως : adverbs formed from the participles of the impersonal verbs ἀπόχρη and προσήκει : cp. πεπλανημένος, *E.* 43 and note.

28 Τεύκρος : see *E.* 17, 18.

παραλαβὼν : see note on *E.* 35.

Εὐαγόρας : see *E.* *passim*, and for the termination of the Phoenician occupation of Salamis ib. 19, 20, and 27-33.

τοσοῦτον μετέστησεν ὥστε, 'caused such a change of affairs that . . .' On μετὰ in composition see note on *E.* 50 μεταπεπτώκασιν.

ὧν περ ἦν τὴν ἀρχήν : τοῦτους is the antecedent, 'those who originally possessed it.' Cp. *Andoc. de Pace* 20 ἐξ ἧν γὰρ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔδωκεν Ὀρχομενίους αὐτονόμους εἰρήνην ἀγειν. τὴν ἀρχήν is an adverbial accusative; contrast the sense of ἀρχή, 'beginning,' with ἀρχή, 'rule' (τὴν ἀρχήν above).

:9-30 *I must now show that I am personally worthy of the kingship. Firstly, I possess the virtues of temperance and justice.*

29 ὧν : by attraction for ἐκείνων αἱ.

τῆς καύτης : sc. τιμῆς, 'my present dignity great though it is,' lit 'such great honour'.

30 τὸ καθ' αὐτάς, 'in themselves,' adverbial acc.; cp. τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς, *ad N.* 20 and note.

τὰς χρήσεις τῶν πραγμάτων, 'ways of dealing with circumstances'; cp. χρῆσθαι τοῖς πράγμασι, *E.* 55, *ad N.* 35.

τὰς μὲν μὴ μετεχοῦσας : these words must refer to τὰς φύσεις καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις καὶ τὰς χρήσεις, though they would more naturally refer to φύσεις only.

τούτων τῶν ἰδεῶν, 'these qualities'; see note on *ad N.* 34.

ἐκείνοις : dat. after τῆς αὐτῆς : see note on *E.* 27.

31-35 *My justice may be seen in my behaviour at my accession. The treasury was empty and everything in confusion; but I avoided banishments, executions and confiscations. Greece was inaccessible owing to the war and we were harassed on all sides, the inhabitants of Cyprus and the Great King being alike hostile. By zealous service to the latter and justice towards the former, I conciliated them both. I have never coveted the territory of my neighbours, but have preferred to rule my own people justly rather than increase my power by injustice. In a word I have done no man wrong, but conferred many benefits upon my subjects and upon the Greeks.*

31 ἐκείθεν : see note on *E.* 11.

τὰ βασιλεία : usually means 'the palace', but here 'the royal treasury'; τὸ βασιλεῖον is found in this sense in Herodot. ii. 149.

ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου : see note on *E.* 39.

τὴν φύσιν τὴν αὐτῶν, 'their natural inclinations.'

32 οὐδ' ὑφ' ἑνός : a stronger form of ὑπ' οὐδενός : cp. οὐδὲ περὶ ἑνός, *E.* 52, and οὐδὲ πρὸς ἑν, *E.* 44.

ἐπιδούναι : see note on ἐπιδόσεις, *E.* 7.

προσηνέχθην, 'I behaved.'

ἐπὶ τῆς ἑμῆς βασιλείας : see note on τοὺς ἐφ' αὐτῶν, *E.* 5.

33 διὰ τὸν πόλεμον : i.e. the wars at sea between the Athenians and Spartans, and on land between the Spartans and Thebans.

συλωμένων ἡμῶν : the context seems to show that these words refer to reprisals on the people of Salamis caused by monetary difficulties with their neighbours.

τὰ πλεῖστα τούτων διέλυσα, 'I settled most of these claims.' The sense of τούτων has to be supplied from συλωμένων ἡμῶν.

βασιλέως : for the omission of the article see note on *E.* 20 βασιλεῖ τῷ μεγάλῳ.

τῷ μὲν λόγῳ διηλλαγμένου : i.e. by the peace concluded by Evagoras in 380 B.C. after ten years of warfare.

τῇ δ' ἀληθείᾳ τραχέως ἔχοντος : in 384 Lysias warned the Greeks

at Olympia that in spite of the Peace of Antalcidas the Great King was a constant menace to Greece; much more would he be a source of danger to his neighbours in Cyprus.

ἀμφότερα ταῦτα κατεπράνα, 'I appeased both these sources of hostility' (F.). ἀμφοτέρους τούτους might have been expected; for the use of neuter for masculine see note on *E.* 72 οὐδέν.

- 34 τοσούτου δέω : see note on *E.* 21.

ἕτεροι μὲν, . . . ἐγὼ δέ : we should say, 'while others . . . , I . . . '

ἀποτέμνονται τῆς γῆς, 'cut off and appropriate portions of their territory.' ἀποτέμνονται is a good example of the use of the middle voice, 'to do something for one's self.' τῆς γῆς is a partitive genitive; cp. Theocr. xvii. 86 καὶ μὴν Φοινίκας ἀποτέμενται Ἀραβίας τε.

πλεονεκτεῖν : see note on *E.* 11.

διδομένην, 'when it was offered to me.' There is no evidence as to any offer of territory made to Nicocles, but we know from *E.* 47 that his father ruled practically the whole of Cyprus.

τῆς ὑπαρχούσης : gen. after the comparative idea contained in πολλαπλασίαν. For ὑπάρχειν see note on *E.* 19.

- 35 ἄλλως τε καί : see note on *E.* 7 ἄλλως τ' ἐπειδὴ καί.

μέγα φρονούντας ἐπὶ : see note on *E.* 45.

χρημάτων . . . κρείττους, 'superior to considerations of money,' lit. 'stronger than money'; similarly χρημάτων ἥσσω (Theopomp. ap. Athen. 252. 6) is 'a slave to money'.

τοιαύτας ὑπερβολὰς ἔχειν εἰπεῖν, 'can use such extravagant language about themselves.' For ὑπερβολή see note on *E.* 1.

- 36-42 *As to temperance, my private life has always been beyond reproach. I have tried to set an example in this respect to my subjects, and have felt that it is wrong for kings to expect their subjects to lead an orderly life while they themselves do not live temperately. My life is a condemnation of those who, quite upright in other respects, fail in their duties towards their wives and family. My children can all claim a pure descent on their father's and their mother's side from the hero Aeacus and from Zeus.*

- 37 ὥς πορρωτάτω . . . τῶν τοιούτων ὑποψιῶν, 'as far as possible from such suspicions.' The genitive is due to the idea of separation in πορρωτάτω. Adverbs in -ω generally keep this termination in the

comparative and superlative; cp. ἄνω, ἀνωτέρω, ἀνωτάτω: the comparative πορρώτέρω is found in *Phil.* 122.

φιλεῖ τὸ πλήθος κτέ.: for the sentiment cp. *ad N.* 31 τὸ τῆς πόλεως ὅλης ῥηθός ὁμοιοῦται τοῖς ἄρχουσι, and note.

- 38 καὶ δεῖνὰ ποιεῖν, ὅσοι: an antecedent such as ἐκείνους must be supplied on the subject of the infin. ποιεῖν. For the sentiment cp. *ad N.* 1. c μὴ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀξίου κοσμίως ζῆν, τοὺς δὲ βασιλεῖς ἀτάκτως, ἀλλὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ σωφροσύνην παράδειγμα τοῖς ἄλλοις καθίστη.

τῶν ἀρχομένων: see note on πιστεύθεις, *E.* 19.

- 39 τῶν ἄλλων πράξεων . . . ἐγκρατεῖς, 'masters of their other actions.'
τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν . . . ἡττωμένους: see note on *E.* 44.
καρτερεῖν: see note on *ad N.* 32.

- 40 στέργουσιν οἷς ἔπραξαν: by attraction for ἐκείνους ἃ ἔπραξαν. The dative after στέργειν is less common than the accusative.

ὕψ' ὧν αὐτοὶ μηδὲν ἀξιούσι λυπεῖσθαι, 'whom they expect never to cause *them* any pain.'

κοινωνίας, 'relations.'

μείζους: equivalent to μείζονος ἀξίαι, 'more precious.'

- 41 λανθάνουσιν . . . ἐγκαταλείποντες, 'are, without realizing it, storing up for themselves.' For λανθάνειν see note on *E.* 42.

διάγειν: here transitive governing τὰς πόλεις, 'manage', 'rule'. The ordinary use of the word is either (1) literal 'lead through' (as in *E.* 30), or (2) with or without τὸν βίον, 'to spend time', 'live' (see note on *E.* 24).

- 42 τοῖς πλείστοις: dative after τὴν αὐτήν, 'the same as the majority.'
σεμνοτέρας: see note on σεμνότατον, *E.* 40.

ἀνενεγκεῖν, 'trace back'; Latin *referre*.

Αἰακίδας: Aeacus, a descendant of Zeus, was father of Telamon, the father of Teucer (ὁ τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν ἀρχηγός, § 28); cp. *E.* 14 ff.

- 43-47 *I have been influenced by the realization that justice and temperance are only found in the best man. Virtues have a close relationship to circumstances. I exercised justice in a time of financial difficulty, moderation in a position of power, and temperance in the years of my youth. You are my witnesses and know that I am telling the truth. Virtues are all the more valuable and more likely to be permanent, when they are the outcome of reason.*

After hearing my discourse you will have no excuse for failing to carry out my wishes with willing obedience.

- 43 τῶν καλῶν κάγαθῶν: see note on *E.* 51.
μέρος . . . μέτεστι: μέρος is pleonastic as in *ad N.* 30.
44 περιττοτέρως: for this termination of the comparative adverb see note on *E.* 5 φιλοτιμοτέρως.

τὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις, 'those concerned with actions'; for this force of ἐπὶ with the dative cp. *Paneg.* 142 τὸ μὲν ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ, 'as far as he was concerned.'

δοκιμάζειν: see note on *ad N.* 27 δοκιμασίας.

ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς ιδέαις: see note on *ad N.* 34 ἀμφοτέρας ταῖς ιδέαις.

ἐν ταῖς τῶν νεωτέρων ἡλικίας: τῶν νεωτέρων is masc., cp. ἐκ νέων. Isocr. almost always uses the comparative rather than the positive of νέος. For ἡλικία see note on ἡλικιωτῶν, *E.* 22.

- 45 καταλειφθείς, 'left' at his father's death.
τούτων δ' ἀμφοτέρων ἐκράτησα, 'I proved my possession' (this is the force of the aorist) 'of both these virtues,' i. e. δικαιοσύνη and σωφροσύνη: cp. *Hel.* 38 κρατήσαντες δὲ τοιαύτης ἀρετῆς καὶ σωφροσύνης.
46 ταῦτ' ἐν ἑτέροις μὲν ἴσως ἂν ὤκνουσιν εἰπεῖν: a present unfulfilled condition, the protasis of which is contained in the words ἐν ἑτέροις (= εἰ ἐν ἑτέροις ἔλεγον).

ὥς οὐκ ἂν πιστευθεῖς: ὥς with a participle often replaces a causal clause expressing a reason present in the mind of the subject of the principal verb: here ὥς οὐκ ἂν πιστευθεῖς is equivalent to νομίζων ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ἐπιστεύθην, the protasis of the condition being supplied by ἐκ τῶν λεγομένων, 'as a result of my words' (= εἰ ταῦτα ἔλεξα).

μετὰ λογισμοῦ, 'in obedience to reason' (F.).

- 47 τυχόν: acc. absolute, lit. 'it having happened', so 'if it so happened', 'perhaps'; cp. *Paneg.* 171 τυχόν μὲν γὰρ ἂν τι συνεπέραναν, 'for they might perhaps have accomplished something.' For other examples of the acc. absolute see note on § 11 προσήκον.

οἱ δὲ πρὸς τῷ πεφυκέναι καὶ διεγνωκότες, 'but those who, in addition to their natural inclination, have also a reasoned conviction.'

ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ τάξει διαμενοῦσιν, 'will remain firm in the position which they have taken up.' τάξις is here a military metaphor.

ἐκόντας καὶ προθύμως: for adjective and adverb coupled together cp. § 13 οὐ παρὰ νόμους οὐδ' ἄλλοτρίαν.

48-50 *Each of you has his appointed duties, which must not be neglected; individually they may seem insignificant, but collectively they are all-important. The affairs of the state are as important as your own private affairs. Behave towards others as you would wish me to behave towards you. A good reputation is more precious than wealth. Do not look upon spending money as a loss and receiving it as a gain; both spending and saving are good if the circumstances and motives are right.*

- 48 ἐφ' οἷς ἐφέστηκεν: an antecedent must be supplied from ἐφ' οἷς as the object of πράττειν, 'any duties which he is appointed to perform.'
καθ' ὁπότερον γὰρ . . . τούτων, 'for in whatever of such duties.'
ἐλλίπητε: used absolutely, 'fail', 'fall short'; cp. *ad N.* 33
ἐλλείπειν αἰροῦ καὶ μὴ πλεονάζειν.

μηδενὸς ὀλιγωρεῖτε: note that the *gnomic* character of this and the following sentences is marked by the omission of connecting particles.

ὑπολαμβάνοντες ὡς οὐ παρὰ τοῦτ' ἐστίν: lit. 'under the idea that it does not depend on this'; instead of οὐ we should expect οὐδέν, 'that nothing depends on this,' but the subject is indefinite as often in English. It is, I think, impossible to supply τὸ σύμπαν from the next clause, as Auger proposed to do. Lange well translates *quod in eo res non sita est*. For this use of παρὰ cp. *Archid.* 52 ὑπὸ πάντων ἂν ὠμολογεῖτο παρὰ τοῦτον γενέσθαι τὴν σωτηρίαν.

ἀλλ' ὡς παρ' ἑκαστον . . . περὶ αὐτῶν, 'but perform your duties with zeal remembering that, as the parts are, so will the whole be good or bad.'

ὡς . . . τὸ σύμπαν ἔξον: acc. absolute here with a subject instead of being impersonal, see note on προσήκον, § 11. For ὡς with the participle see note on § 46 ὡς οὐκ ἂν πιστευθεῖς.

- 49 μηδὲν ἥττον . . . ἤ, 'just as carefully as.'

τῶν ἑμῶν . . . τῶν ὑμετέρων: genitive after κήδεσθε.

ὑμετέρων αὐτῶν: αὐτῶν is genitive carrying on and emphasizing the possessive idea contained in ὑμετέρων, cp. *ad N.* 46 τὰ σφέτερ' αὐτῶν.

ἀπέχεσθε τῶν ἀλλοτρίων κτλ.: cp. *Cic. de Offic.* iii. 5 *ceterum qui sibi licere uult aliena occupare, idem ius uidetur aliis concedere in sua.*

- 50 μάλλον ἢ: we should say 'but rather'.

οὐδέτερον γὰρ . . . τοὺς ποιούντας, 'for neither does giving nor receiving always mean the same thing, but, whenever either takes

place at the right moment and in accordance with virtue, it benefits the giver or the recipient.'

- §1-53 *Obey me willingly; for those who are useful to me also benefit themselves. Imagine that I am always present in spirit, if not in person; this will act as a check upon you. Conceal nothing; secrecy implies guilt and only brings anxiety. Perform your civic duties openly, and no one can slander you. Test your actions by considering whether you would wish me to know of them. Denounce any wicked designs against me; otherwise you will be sharing in the guilt of my enemies. Consider that those who are innocent are fortunate, not those whose wrong doings escape detection.*

51 *μηδὲ πρὸς ἕν* : a more emphatic form of *πρὸς μηδέν*, as often.
μηδ' ἐμὲ λήσσειν : see note on *E.* 42 *μήτε λανθάνειν*.

52 *ὧν . . . ὧν . . . ὧν* : in each case for *ἐκείνων* *ᾧ*, by relational attraction.

περὶ τὰ κεκρυμμένα τῶν πραγμάτων ἀναγκαῖον πολλοὺς φόβους γίγνεσθαι : the idea of conscience, which was not realized by the Greeks, is more fully developed in the later Latin writers; it is perhaps best stated by Seneca (*Ep.* xliii) *Quid prodest recondere se et oculos hominum auresque vitare? Bona scientia turbam aduocat, mala etiam in solitudine anxia atque sollicita est. Si honesta sunt quae facis, omnes sciant; si turpia, quid refert neminem scire, cum tu scias?*

τεχνικῶς : here in a bad sense; see note on *E.* 73.

ἀπλῶς : see note on *ad N.* 46.

53 *περὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν ἐμὴν πονηροῦς ὄντας*, 'harbouring evil designs against my rule'; probably a purposely vague expression.
ἐξελέγχετε : *ἐλέγχειν*, 'to prove', *ἐξελέγχειν*, 'to prove in the wrong', 'expose'.

τοὺς συγκρύπτοντας, 'those who assist in the concealment.' *σύν* in composition has two forces, both of which can be illustrated from the uses of *συγκρύπτειν*, either (1) with the idea of *co-operation* as here and in *Archid.* 102 *αἱ μὲν γὰρ εὐτυχίαι . . . τὰς κακίας συγκρύπτουσιν*, or (2) *intensifying*, cp. *Trap.* 18 *συγκρύψαι τὴν συμφορὰν*, 'completely hide.'

τοῖς ἀμαρτάνουσιν : dative after *τῆς αὐτῆς*.

54-56 *Do not establish political clubs without my sanction. My friendship is surest and safest. Preserve the existing order of things; political changes often affect the individual adversely. The mildness or severity of a ruler depends on the conduct of his subjects. My safety means your security. Abide by my commands, and seek to be conspicuous only in the splendour of your public services.*

54 *ἑταιρείας μὴ ποιείσθε*: the word *ἑταιρείαι* originally meant 'brotherhoods' or 'clubs', the purpose of which was probably usually social, though they were sometimes religious in character. Such 'clubs' soon lost their original character and became political; though before the Persian wars, if we are to believe Isocrates (*τὰς ἑταιρείας συνήγον οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἰδία συμφερόντων ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ πλήθους ὠφελείᾳ*, *Paneg.* 79), their object was a patriotic one. During the Peloponnesian War the term comes to be applied to the followers of great statesmen such as Cimon and Pericles. But they were increasingly employed for unconstitutional purpose; the best example of this is perhaps the use made of them by Alcibiades in 412 B.C. The *ἑταιρείαι* became a constant source of danger in Greek political life at Athens, and Isocrates is no doubt giving voice to his own feelings when he puts these words into the mouth of Nicocles.

συνόδους, 'gatherings' of a more general kind than the organized *ἑταιρείαι*.

ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πολιτείαις: Isocrates is perhaps thinking of the use made by Lysander of the *ἑταιρείαι* in the Greek cities of Asia Minor, where he either used existing political organizations or founded others to assist the introduction of Spartan rule.

πλεονεκτοῦσιν: used absolutely 'are advantageous'; see note on *E.* 11.

ἐν οἷς: for the relative introducing a consecutive sentence see note on *E.* 35 *οὐδεὶς ἐστὶν οὕτω ῥάθυμος ὅστις*.

55 *κατάστασιν*: see note on § 26.

ἀναστάτους: see note on § 23.

ἢ κατὰ: Latin *quam pro*, cp. *E.* 21 *ἢ κατ' ἀνθρώπον*.

μὴ μᾶλλον . . . ἤ, 'not so much . . . as.'

ὑμετέραν αὐτῶν: see note on § 49.

56 *τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τὰ περὶ ὑμᾶς ἔξει*, 'your fortunes will be of the same kind.' *περὶ ὑμᾶς*, *hiatus*, as often after *περὶ*.

ταῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως λειτουργίαις, 'services towards the state.' The kings of Salamis had apparently copied the Athenians in imposing 'public services' on the wealthier citizens. At Athens the λειτουργίαι were, in time of peace (α) χορηγία, the expense of producing a play; (β) ἐστίασις, the provision of a feast for fellow-tribesmen; (γ) γυμνασιарχία, the expense of a gymnasium; in war (α) τριηραρχία, the equipment of a trireme; (β) εἰσφορά, the special war-tax.

7-58 *Educate the younger generation by example as well as by precept. Teach them to be loyal subjects, for good subjects made good rulers. Remember that the best thing that you can bequeath to your children is my good will. Those who prove themselves untrustworthy are miserable; they live in fear, for they can rely on no one's help.*

57 τοὺς ὑμετέρους αὐτῶν : for the genitive see note on § 49.
 ἐθίξετ' αὐτοὺς . . . διατρίβειν : cp. *ad N.* 29 ἔθιξε σαντὸν χαίρειν.
 καλῶς ἀρχεσθαι, 'to be good subjects.' For the sentiment cp. Cic. *de Leg.* iii. 2 *qui modeste paret, uidetur qui aliquando imperet dignus esse.*

κινδυνεύουσιν περὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων : lit. 'they will run risks concerning the things which belong to them already', so 'they will be in danger of losing what they already possess'.

58 μέγιστον . . . καταλείπειν, 'consider that you will be leaving them great and righteous wealth, if you can bequeath them our good will.'
 τὸν ἐπίλοιπον χρόνον : see note on *E.* 27 τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον.

9-62 *Envy not the rich but the righteous. Virtue is superior to vice not only in reputation but in real worth. Do not be jealous of those whom I favour, but emulate their deeds. Be loyal not merely in word but in deed. Do not do to others what you would not wish to suffer yourself. Do not practice what you yourself condemn. Let my word be law to you. In short, behave towards me as you would have your inferiors behave towards you.*

59 ψυχῆς : see note on *E.* 23.

τὸ δ' ὄνομα δυσχερέστερον ἔχειν, 'and that it is only its name which is uglier.'

δυνάμεις, 'qualities'; see note § 9.

60 τοῖς προέχουσιν, 'those who hold the first place'; προέχειν is here used absolutely.

τυγχάνητε τῶν αὐτῶν, 'may meet with the same treatment'; i.e. win my affection and honour at my hands.

- 61 ἡ ἐν: Isocrates allows a *hiatus* after ἡ, cp. *Helen*. 8 where the MSS. read ἡ ὁ and similarly ἡ ἐχθρός, *de bigis* 42.

περὶ ὧν ἂν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις κατηγορήτε: the usual construction after κατηγορεῖν is the acc. of the thing and the genitive of the person, but the gen. of the person (here omitted) and περὶ with the genitive of the thing is also found. For the sentiment cp. Diog. Laert. i. 36 Θαλῆς ἐρωτηθεὶς πῶς ἂν ἄριστα καὶ δικαιοῦτα βιώσαιμεν, ἐάν, ἔφη, ἂ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπιτιμῶμεν, αὐτοὶ μὴ δρῶμεν.

τοιαῦτα προσδοκᾶτε πράξειν κτλ., 'expect your fortune to be such as are your thoughts about us.' πράσσειν often means 'to fare' (εὖ πράσσειν, 'to fare well'; cp. the colloquial English 'to do well'); τοιαῦτα is here used adverbially with it.

- 62 τοῖς μάλιστα ποιοῦσιν ὑμῶν ἀγῶ βούλομαι, 'those of you who best carry out my wishes.' ὑμῶν is partitive genitive.

κεφάλαιον τῶν εἰρημένων, 'to sum up what I have said'; cp. Dem. *de Cor.* 213 τὸ δ' οὖν κεφάλαιον ἡξιῶν κτλ. For the omission of ἐστὶ cp. *E.* 8 σημείον δὲ μέγιστον and similar phrases quoted in note.

οἷους . . . γίνεσθαι: for the sentiment cp. Seneca, *Ep.* xlvii *sic cum inferiore uiuas quemadmodum tecum superiorem uelles uiuere.*

- 63-64 *I need not dwell on the happiness and prosperity which will accrue from your loyal obedience. They would be worth a great sacrifice; which, however, is unnecessary. You need only act faithfully and justly.*

- 63 ἦν . . . τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν ὑπηρετῆται: for ἦν ὑμεῖς ὑπηρετῆτε, translate 'if your support is given me'.

οἶόν περ: sc. παρεῖχον.

τὸν ὑμέτερον αὐτῶν: see note on § 49.

ἐπιδεδωκότα: see note on *E.* 7 ἐπιδόσεις. The perfect participle here expresses immediate result.

- 64 μηδὲν ἐλλείπειν: lit. 'to fail in nothing', so 'to leave nothing undone' (F.). For ἐλλείπειν see note on *ad N.* 33.

οὔστινασοῦν: strictly speaking this is a case of attraction for οὔτινασοῦν εἰσι, since δοτισοῦν, 'whoever,' introduces an indefinite relative clause; cp. the use of the Latin *quicumque*.

μηδὲν ταλαιπωρηθείσιν, 'without any painful effort.'

APPENDIX I

ON THE GENUINENESS OF CERTAIN PASSAGES OF THE SPEECH *AD NICOCLEM*

DOUBT has been cast by various editors, including Benseler, Versmeeten, and Drerup, on the genuineness of certain passages in *ad Nicoclem*, §§ 19-39 (see critical notes). In the speech *On the Antidosis* Isocrates repeats considerable passages from the *ad Nicoclem*, but his quotations include only a small fraction of these sections as represented in the MSS. of the *ad Nicoclem*. The question has therefore been raised, whether the longer form, as found in the *ad Nicoclem*, or the shorter form, as found in the speech *On the Antidosis*, is the genuine one. The obvious explanation would be that the quotations in the *Antidosis* are a deliberate abbreviation. Against this it may be urged that the precepts contained in the *ad Nicoclem* are so badly arranged as to give rise to the suspicion that the text has been disturbed. Drerup (p. cxlvi), who urges that these passages are due to interpolation or else inserted here from some sophistic treatise, discusses various words and phrases in them, which, he claims, are employed in senses not usual in Isocrates. The discussion of these details is outside our scope, and arguments from the uses of words are not necessarily a very sure basis for rejecting passages in classical authors. In favour of their genuineness it might be urged that a rather miscellaneous collection of maxims of this kind, if the utmost care is not exercised in its composition, tends to lack coherence and arrangement. We might therefore suppose that Isocrates realized at a later date that these sections were open to criticism as originally written in the *ad Nicoclem*, and so, when he came to quote from them in the speech *On the Antidosis*, took the opportunity of making considerable omissions, which certainly effected an improvement of the passage. Again, it might be urged that, if we make these omissions in the text of the *ad Nicoclem*, we shall still further abbreviate the

speech, which is already considerably shorter than the companion oration *Nicocles, or the Cyprians*. While, on the whole, it seems not unlikely that these sections have undergone some disturbance, it has been thought best to print them in the text as found in the MSS. of the *ad Nicoclem*.

APPENDIX II

ON THE GENUINENESS OF THE SPEECH *NICOCLES, OR THE CYPRIANS*

Doubts were first cast upon this speech by H. Stephanus in 1593. The later discovery, however, of the speech *On the Antidosis*, which contains a quotation of §§ 5-9, seems to leave no doubt of its genuineness. The only serious argument brought against it is one urged by Versmeeten (*admonitio ad Nicoclem*, Lugd. Bat., 1890, p. 2), who points out the discrepancies between the account of his temperance and self-restraint, which is put into the mouth of Nicocles in this speech, and the testimony to his luxury given by Theopompus (frag. 111, in *Hellen. Oxyrh.*, S.C.B.O.). Against this it may be urged that, firstly, the same allegations are made by Theopompus (see p. 20) against Evagoras; and, if we reject the *Nicocles aut Cyprii* on this ground, we must also reject the *Evagoras*; secondly, Theopompus is notoriously given to casting aspersions on the characters of persons mentioned in his history, in fact the extant fragments of his works consist of little else; thirdly, Isocrates is aiming at persuading the citizens of Salamis of the good qualities of their ruler, who had probably also been his own pupil, rather than giving a strictly accurate account of his character. The language and style of the speech itself give no ground whatsoever for doubting its genuineness.

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